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ABSTRACT

This course, one of 16 sequential courses comprising phase one of a part-time Bachelor of Arts degree program in Australian Studies, surveys different forms of community, ranging from closely knit, cohesive groups to institutionalized groups, their characteristic forms of social control, and their methods of social organization. The concept of social role is used to understand community and social control. The course is designed for independent study combined with tutorial sessions. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the course and its study objectives. Chapter 2, "Concepts of Community," deals with the variety of communities that exist. Chapter 3, "Social Networks and Community in Australian Suburbia," uses a study of the Adelaide suburbs as an example. Chapter 4, "Asylums: Bureaucratic Control and Moral Order," deals with total institutions, while Chapter 6, "Community and Control: Summary" recaps the course. Materials for three tutorial sessions dealing with kinship networks, Erving Goffman's "Asylums" (1968) and a mock examination are included, as well as lists of required readings, additional readings, a bibliography, and self-assessment questions. (.S)

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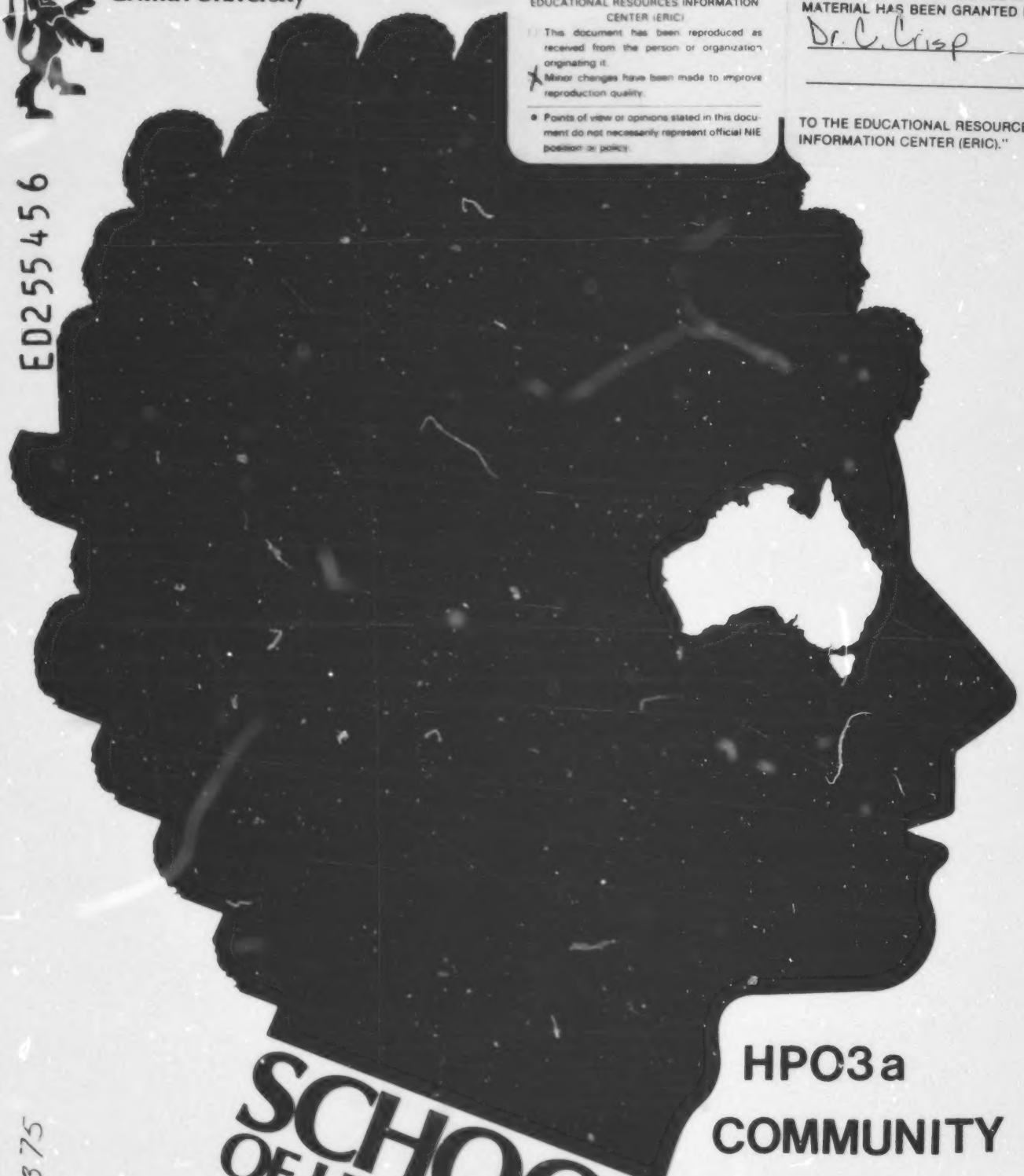

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

# HPO3a COMMUNITY AND CONTROL

# PART TIME BA DEGREE

GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

PART-TIME BA DEGREE PROGRAMME

COURSE HP03a

# COMMUNITY AND CONTROL

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## COURSE INFORMATION: HP03a

### Course readings

This course requires you to buy one book, which is available from the University Bookshop.

Erving Goffman, *Asylums* (Penguin, 1968) ($6.95)

You will use this book extensively in section 4 of the course. However, it will also be needed in later courses, so you should retain your copy of it.

In section 2, you will be asked to read parts of the study guide for Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*.

There are eight additional readings which are bound together for each section of the course and indexed on p.3. Most of the readings are quite long, but the study guide tells you how to deal with them in the quickest and most efficient way. Full bibliographic details are provided with each reading so you can look at the full version of a particular piece if you wish to do so. They are all available in the University Library, as are the optional further readings listed on p.76 of the study guide. These further readings develop points of interest raised by the course. However, you do not need anything more than *Asylums*, the study guide for Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*, and the contents of the course package to complete the course and its assessment successfully.

### Tutorial activities

In this course the usual two tutorials are augmented by a third, designed specifically to assist you to develop skills necessary for examinations. As in all of the part-time courses the tutorials are designed to be helpful but attendance at them is not necessary; you can do the assessment item even if you do not come to the tutorials. If you cannot, or do not wish to, attend you should, nevertheless, do the exercises suggested for them, particularly as this will be useful preparation for the examination (see below).

### Assessment

The assessment item for this course is a three-hour examination which can be satisfactorily completed if you are familiar with the answers to the SAQs, and the questions set for tutorial discussion.

As examinations can often be an intimidating experience for people returning to study, assistance will be given in three ways:

- Firstly, a specimen examination paper is included in this course package, and you can practise on this

paper. It is sectioned in the same way, and covers basically the same ground, as the examination.

- Secondly, the special tutorial (Tutorial Three) has been arranged to give you the opportunity to sit for a 'mock' examination, a shortened version of the examination.

- Thirdly, you may sit the examination itself once with no penalty at all if you do not pass. If you receive a mark of *Satisfactory* or better, it will be counted as your assessment submission. If, however, you do not pass, it will not be treated as an attempt at the assessment item at all: your paper will be marked by your tutor and returned with suggestions as to how you can improve your performance. In addition, the normal regulations for resubmission of assessment items apply (see General Information Book, p.18).

It is hoped that all these strategies will help to make the examination a less frightening experience for you than it may otherwise be. You will probably find that ultimately you spend less time on this form of assessment item than you do on writing an essay, and so can progress to the next course more quickly.

Examination Times

When you feel you are ready to sit the examination, please advise Peter MacFarlane, the Programme Administrator, on 275 7574.

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## LIST OF READINGS

Readings are numbered in order of use, and aggregated according to the section of the study guide in which they first appear.

(Note: This list does not include readings from *Asylums*.)

Section 2 (pink cover)

Reading 1. David Thorns, 'Ideological communities'

Reading 2. Robert Nisbet, 'Moral values and community' (excerpts)

Reading 3. Michael Polanyi, 'The republic of science: its political and economic theory' (excerpt)

Reading 4. Diana Crane, 'Social circles in the scientific community' (excerpts)

Section 3 (cream cover)

Reading 5. Jean Martin, 'Suburbia: community and network' (excerpts)

Section 5 (yellow cover)

Reading 6. Peter Berger, 'Man in society' (excerpts)

Reading 7. George Orwell, 'Such, such were the joys' (excerpts)
(for Tutorial Two)

Reading 8. Janice Harper and Lyn Richards, 'Who do they think they are?' (excerpts)
(for Tutorial Two)

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## PRELIMINARY EXERCISE

Community is a word with a wide range of meanings. This exercise asks you to think about these meanings in order to identify and distinguish some of the different usages of the word. It is important that you spend an hour or so doing this seriously, since it will also be the basis of further exercises and discussion in Tutorial One.

The following list gives some different ways in which the word community is used:

1. local communities; small settlements where 'everyone knows (and, by implication, cares about) everyone else'

2. groups which share some common identifying characteristic (e.g. occupation or nationality)

3. the public, or the general electorate

4. 'community services': professionally organised services for the general public such as hospitals, education, welfare services, etc.

5. 'community service': i.e., work - often charitable or voluntary - which helps people in a specific area or those with special problems.

Now, see if you can find two or three examples of each of the above uses of the word community. Look for these examples in previous courses, or in the daily papers, news broadcasts and advertisements. One example is the use of the word on the back cover of *Asylums*. It is a good idea to cut out or record the items in which the word is used so that, in Tutorial One, you can compare your materials with those of other students. If you come across the word used in a different way from those five meanings listed above, keep that for discussion also. A set of examples is given with the SAQ answers at the back of this study guide which you should consult when you have finished, or if you want some help along the way.

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## 1 INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE AND ITS STUDY OBJECTIVES

This course begins by reconsidering issues about the quality of life in Australian suburbia, issues you have already encountered in Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*. In that course, you saw that many Australian writers portray suburbia as a stifling and limited environment. In the present course (HP03a, *Community and Control*) one of our main readings is an empirical study of suburban communities in Adelaide (Jean Martin, reading 5). Contrary to those who believe that modern city life has overwhelmed older local communities, she suggests that local communities may survive in the Australian suburban environment. Moreover, her study looks at community life in newer suburbs and suggests that we should develop our concept of community to include those particular types of social groups.

The course is divided into three main sections as follows:

1. Section 2 - 'Concepts of community'

In this first substantial part of the course we examine traditional concepts and images of local community, and contrast these with newer, alternative concepts of community like those Martin proposes.

2. Section 3 - 'Social networks and community in Australian suburbia'

Having established these contrasting concepts of community in this way, we then undertake a detailed reading of Martin's study. We will see how she deals with various questions suggested by these different concepts of community and also explore the various types of evidence she gathered in her study.

3. Section 4 - 'Asylums: bureaucratic control and moral order'

In this section we will study Erving Goffman's detailed descriptions of life in a state mental hospital. Obviously this is a distinctly different community from those you will study in the other parts of the course. On the one hand you will have to consider the basic characteristics of this community which make it similar to other communities. On the other, you will also consider those characteristics which make it a distinctive type of community.

Goffman's book, however, was included in this course for another reason. Because of the level of detailed description which the book contains, it provides us with many examples relating to the dynamics of community life in this setting and, therefore, many insights into the effects of communal processes on the formation, and reformation, of group and individual identity.

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The main task of this course is to examine the concept 'community'. Whereas earlier courses focussed on particular Australian issues and debates, this course will deal with more general questions which arise when we seek to understand a particular concept in theoretical terms. This change in focus marks a point of transition in the sequence of courses which constitute the first phase of the programme: the discussion of general concepts will become more prominent in courses which follow this one.

Any general concept has a wide range of meanings, and we need to clarify this range of meanings if we are to develop our understanding of the concept effectively. Consider the range of meanings associated with the word 'community'. In small towns in rural Queensland, people know one another and their families and help each other through various crises created by the problems of isolation and the vagaries of the weather. We have little trouble thinking of these settlements as communities. Urban dwellers sometimes use the word community in a similar fashion when speaking about their local neighbourhood. But it may also be used in other contexts. It may refer to particular groups in society, such as ethnic communities, or the medical or legal professions, which share a common characteristic or interest.

We often use the word in other senses; we speak about services, such as hospitals or schools, which are provided for the whole community rather than any specific group. The term 'community work' extends this sense of the word to refer to voluntary provision of various types of help to all those in need, e.g. 'meals on wheels' for pensioners. Another use of the term comes from politicians who claim to defend the general interest of the community in the face of demands from special-interest groups: Liberal and National Party politicians may claim to protect the community from 'powerful and unscrupulous unions', while Labor politicians may claim to protect it from 'rapacious capitalists and multinational corporations'.

<u>How will we understand the concept 'community' in this course?</u>

In the course we will develop our understanding of the concept 'community' by looking at empirical examples of different types of community. (These examples range from a middle-class suburban community in Adelaide to the community of a mental hospital in America.) From this range of particular examples, we will distinguish three <u>types</u> of community for close attention, and examine the characteristics which make these types different from one another. Relating particular examples to discussion of types of community involves two sets of arguments:

1. We need to identify those features of each community which permit us to describe it as 'a community'. In this course, it is suggested that a community exists if

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there is an established social network among its members which permits them to interact in a regular and predictable way.

2. We need to identify those features of each community which make them characteristic of one type of community rather than another. Here we will focus particularly on the different forms of social control used in various communities.

Types of community and concepts of community

In social sciences like anthropology and sociology, it is often possible to make general comparisons between groups which are usually believed to be quite unlike one another. Robert Brain's book, *Rites, Black and White* (the set book for Course HP01b, *Traditions*) used this technique to shock white Australians into a greater acceptance of black Australian customs and traditions. While it is true that we can look at all social groups using a general model, it is also true that we need to find ways of discriminating between them if we are to understand the ways in which particular groups work. The description and definition of different types of social groups, such as communities, is an important halfway house between general models and specific examples.

In general discussion, the contrasts between different types of community are often presented through opposing stereotypes or myths. 'Alternative lifestylers' work hard to establish and maintain their 'communities' and see few, if any, virtues in 'straight society'. By contrast, 'hard-working honest' members of the 'general community' regard 'hippies' as a direct threat to the values on which their 'community' is based. In this course we will regard both these social groups as communities since they both have established social networks. We will also see the way they confront similar problems of communal living, but solve them in different ways consistent with the various histories, circumstances and self-identification of these communities. In discussing different types of community, however, we will often need to confront statements about the concept of community which focus on one type of community only and suggest that this is a superior lifestyle to all others. As such, these statements idealise certain types of community: they are therefore called idealisations of community.

In this course, we will distinguish three types of community - sub-types of the general concept of community - and these may be summarised as follows:

1. Local consensual communities: voluntary settlements where constant interaction and face-to-face contact sustain the collective unity. Examples of such communities are the Israeli kibbutzim.

2. Dispersed consensual communities: people in separate localities who develop their common interest through

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some network of exchange. The international community of scientists is our most striking example of this type of community.

3. Asylums: involuntary settlements where bureaucratically-enforced regulations and rules determine patterns of social interaction. The mental hospital is our main example.

Study objectives

Your work in this course can be summarised in terms of the following study objectives:

1. At the end of the course you should have a thorough grasp of the differences between these three types of community, the conceptions of community implied by each and the distinctive values and ideals of each.

2. You will be able to talk about some of the mechanisms of social control which, it is claimed, permit communities to direct the behaviour of individuals and even mould their identities. You will also be able to suggest the degree to which such mechanisms can, or cannot, operate in the different types of community studied within the course.

3. You will understand some of the ways social scientists gather the evidence necessary to describe the operation of social collectivities such as communities.

Why study concepts of community at this point in the programme?

Concepts of community relate to two debates which you have already encountered in the programme:

1. In Courses HP01a, *Defining Australia*, and HP01b, *Traditions*, you considered some of the ways in which people formulate a sense of their own identity and that of the larger collectivity (e.g. ethnic group or nation) of which they are part. Communities are further examples of such collectivities and in this course we will consider studies which further illustrate these questions of how individuals are a part of larger society.

2. In Courses HP02a, *The Bush Legend*, and HP02b, *Urban Australia*, you considered the opposition between city and countryside and the supposed contrast between urban and rural communities. In this course, we will utilise sociological descriptions of communities as networks of exchange, interaction or communication. Insofar as these networks exist in both urban and rural environments, we will re-examine this distinction between city and country in new forms.

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But concepts of community also point forward to later courses of this phase. Discussions of community raise issues about the nature and mechanisms of collective control over individuals. Most of the readings for this course approach this question from the perspective of sociology. In this perspective, the central focus is on the problem of social control which touches on questions of individuality, inventiveness and conformity.

At a deeper level, the concept of community points to questions about the relationships between individuals and the society and institutions within which they live. The readings in this course touch on some of these questions which will be taken up in later courses when we explore concepts such as culture, ideology, classification and language.

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## 2 CONCEPTS OF COMMUNITY

In the preliminary exercise, you generated examples of communities which can be described in terms of a certain characteristic common to all their members, e.g. everybody living in the locality of Charters Towers or Tarragindi, the Greek community of Sydney, the medical community or the academic community. As you saw in Course HP01b, *Traditions*, there are often problems in deciding exactly which people can be designated to be members of such communities. For the moment, however, we will assume that certain characteristics can serve to identify significant numbers of people within these communities, and that the preliminary exercise has generated a set of empirical examples of communities. You also have some examples where people refer to communities for which it is hard to find a characteristic common to all its members. People who talk loosely about 'the Australian community', or 'the community at large', could not easily identify characteristics common to all members of these communities. For instance, given your work in earlier courses, you would dispute the assumption in many political speeches that Australia is a unified community.

You may have come across even looser usages of the word community, usages which did not even contain an implicit reference to an identifiable group of people. These usages of the term refer to a way of life which is based on co-operation and harmony and it is usually contrasted with the anonymity, callousness and self-interested consumerism of modern life. In this sort of statement of personal preference, or values, 'community' is usually regarded as being under threat from the spread of industrialism and urbanism. Moreover, this idealisation of local community is already familiar to you as one of the myths or stereotypes associated with the long-standing opposition of city and country. This opposition is sometimes inverted by certain writers who generate an idealisation of the virtues of cosmopolitan, urban life. Such idealisations of community, therefore, are often personal statements about the desirability, or otherwise, of certain ways of life.

Our interest in community comes from the debates about the impact of industrialism and urbanisation on Australia and the Australian way of life which you studied in Courses HP02a, *The Bush Legend*, and HP02b, *Urban Australia*. In section 3 we will continue this debate. In the meantime, section 2 of the course will prepare the ground in two ways:

1. We will elaborate the two idealisations of community implicit in the debates you studied in Courses HP02a, *The Bush Legend*, and HP02b, *Urban Australia*.

2. We will examine examples of communities which come closest to those contrasting idealisations of community.

In doing this, we will encounter the main sociological concept (social network) used in this course to describe and classify different communities.

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## 2.1 Are there communities in suburbia?

In Courses HP02a, *The Bush Legend*, and HP02b, *Urban Australia*, you encountered debates about the quality of life in urban and rural settings. In considering Australia's development you examined the growth of cities and the development of another social environment, suburbia, and you read materials which were critical of suburbia. The relevant debates were summarised in the previous course.

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Re-read sections 3.1 and 3.3 of the study guide for Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*, and then answer the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 1

What characteristics of rural life are typically contrasted with urban life (section 3.1)?

These sections of Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*, suggest that the 'communal' features of rural communities will be eroded by two sets of influences:

1. The impact of urbanisation itself continues to destroy the homogeneity and 'closeness' of local communities;

2. Consumerism, with its emphasis on private consumption, undermines community values of 'sharing and caring'.

The double impact of urbanisation and consumerism would appear to make Australian suburbs an unlikely site for local communities to survive. If we accept those generalisations as valid, the question 'Are there local communities in suburbia?' could be answered with a simple 'no'. However, in Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*, you saw not only that many assumptions about the opposition between rural and urban life were over-generalised, but also that many critics of suburbia failed to recognise the heterogeneity and diversity of Australian suburbs. These qualifications suggest that we should not accept those generalisations too readily and that the question 'Are there communities in suburbia?' is worth further investigation. For this and other reasons, Jean Martin (reading 5) undertook an empirical study of Adelaide suburbs to provide an accurate and comprehensive description of the way of life of their inhabitants.

Martin's evidence (which we will examine in detail in section 3) provides a positive response to the question, 'Are there communities in suburbia?'. Indeed, her response is two-fold:

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1. Local communities survive within the older Adelaide suburbs despite the growth of industrialisation and urbanisation.

2. Different, but viable, communities are evident even within the newer, more affluent suburbs.

To make statements of this kind, it is necessary for Martin to define 'community' carefully, and to present evidence which allows us to recognise the existence of these two types of suburban community. Thus, although she does not become directly involved in abstract debates about community, her work develops themes suggested by them. In the remainder of this section, we will examine these debates and the themes they suggest.

## 2.2 Social control in alternative communities

Idealised visions of local community stress the harmony and co-operation which are supposed to flow from a community's traditions, customs and face-to-face interactions. It is assumed that there is a prevailing consensus which provides people with a sense of their collective identity. In addition, this consensus defines and reinforces a variety of roles and associated identities for individuals: e.g. residents of Nimbin regard themselves as a special group and believe they have a set of values and a lifestyle which are different from those of 'straights'. Furthermore, it is often assumed that in small communities individual problems and ambitions become subordinated to the general consensus.

This idealisation of local community is a powerful myth, or stereotype, which suggests that individual greed, materialism and consumerism should be subordinated to the general consensus. Such communitarian ideals, which praise the virtues of co-operation, collective ownership and communal self-sufficiency, are an alternative to the values of modern society and have a long history. Reading 1 is a study by David Thorns of communities (some religious, others utopian) which attempt to practise these co-operative ideals.

This first reading is a comparative exercise. It deals with one type of community, but looks at both successful and unsuccessful examples. Its central concern relates to 'the efficacy of different types of social organisation': i.e., what practical solutions to certain general problems allow some communities to succeed while others fail? The explicit comparisons in the reading are related to this problem. But Thorns has chosen to look at this particular group of communities because they can give a particular insight into this question. They are all communities where the members are committed to a common set of values and beliefs, either utopian or religious (which Thorns calls 'ideologies'). If these communities fail it is not, according to Thorns, because the members disagree about general ideals and values

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(or 'ideology'), but rather is due to some factors of inadequate community organisation.

Within this article, Thorns is not always consistent in his use of the terms 'ideology' and 'consensus'. In his discussion of failed communities (New Harmony and contemporary communes) Thorns raises problems created by a lack of agreement about practical issues. Sometimes he refers to these as ideological disputes, sometimes as problems of social organisation. It is not unusual for people who share a common ideology to disagree about the practical implications of their values and beliefs. This is not so much a problem of ideological disagreement, as the phrase 'ideological dispute' tends to suggest, but a problem of consensus concerning the organisation that follows from that ideology. In reading Thorns it is helpful to keep these problems separate.

Thorns is using the term 'ideology' in a fairly limited way. You have already had an explanation of this term in Course HP02b (section 3.3), where it occurred in the reading by Tim Rowse. Thorns is using the term in its most limited way to refer to the set of values and beliefs held in common by a group. For most members of these communities it is a matter of passionate concern that these beliefs are 'true', since they are an alternative to the ideologies of the larger society. It is because of this that the study guide adopts the common label, 'alternative communities', rather than Thorns's own heading 'ideological communities'. The concerns and experiences of community members are not really dealt with by Thorns, however, since he is concerned only with questions about the structure and operation of those communities.

**********

Read David Thorns, 'Ideological communities', reading 1, pp.1-3, and complete the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 2

This part of the reading deals with

1. the history of the Hutterite Brethren
2. their social organisation
3. their economic organisation and growth.

Make short notes on each of these. Now, take one feature of 2 and 3, and suggest how it might contribute to the stability of the Hutterite community.

Now look at Thorns's discussion of this in R1:4, and see if it suggests any additional points.

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The second example given by Thorns is a utopian community which failed (R1:4-6). By a series of contrasts, Thorns develops a list of basic requirements of organisation which a community must meet if it is to succeed; he then discusses how these are met in another set of successful communities, the Israeli kibbutzim (R1:6-9).

**********

Read Thorns, reading 1, pp.6-9 now and then do the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 3

1. Using a short phrase from the reading or a short sentence of your own, list the basic requirements of communal organisation in Thorns's summation of his section II (R1:5-6). (There are four or five, depending on how you read Thorns's sentence structure.) How are these requirements met in the kibbutzim?

2. What further factors can be added to your list from Thorns's discussion of 'unifying forces' in the kibbutz (R1:8-9)?

Thorns's comparisons of these alternative communities have produced a list of practical needs which must be satisfied for the success and stability of such communities. Not only does there need to be a recognisable ideology but also a consensus on the organisation of community life. The Hutterites and the kibbutzim are the main examples of communities where this consensus has evolved and we will take them as our main examples of local consensual communities, the first main type of community we will consider in the course.

Thorns notes a series of areas where the communitarian ideals of the kibbutzim conflict with individual needs and desires (R1:7-8, 10). Both the kibbutzim and the Hutterites have evolved decision-making procedures which deal with these conflicts. One further area of difficulty is the allocation of tasks within the community. Quickly re-read the sections on the kibbutzim and the Hutterites and answer the following SAQ.

SAQ 4

How does the social organisation of the Hutterite communities and the kibbutzim reflect the ideals/values/beliefs (ideologies) of each group?

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This last SAQ might have drawn your attention to a central aspect of any community or organisation. If that organisation or community is to survive, then individuals must be directed to undertake certain tasks; they may have to change their pattern of personal consumption or even their behaviour. As Thorns points out, this must be done in ways that are consistent with the ideology of the community. In practical terms, however, collective needs require individuals to conform. The failure of many contemporary communes illustrates the problems that arise if members of a community insist on their right to 'do their own thing'. The success of a community depends on its individual members conforming to communal discipline, but how is this discipline enforced?

Sociologists refer to this collective discipline as social control. The most basic and important form of social control is 'socialisation'. Socialisation is defined in the *Dictionary of Modern Sociology* as

> the process whereby individuals learn to behave willingly in accordance with the prevailing standards of their culture; although occasionally used synonymously with learning, [it is] usually reserved for the type of learning that bears on future role performance and that particularly involves group approval. (1969, p.299)

It is seen as the means by which communities or organisations generate voluntary compliance. The difficulties of running a community or organisation where every person had to be supervised and directed would create an impossible administrative situation. By creating voluntary compliance, or even positive commitment, socialisation becomes an essential aspect of the smooth and efficient running of any organisation or community, not just the 'utopian' communities discussed by Thorns. Although more severe forms of control exist, such as legal and economic controls, the latter are regarded as formal and coercive sanctions to be used as a last resort. They may reinforce socialisation but cannot replace it.

For Thorns, the most important mechanism of social control is childhood socialisation. Thorns sees two aspects of this process as essential factors for the survival of communities. The first of these is the role of the education system. This is one of the most formal ways in which a community's or society's traditions are maintained (cf. Course HP01b, *Traditions*, sections 4.1.3 and 4.1.4). Current debates about sex education in Queensland schools show that educational institutions are still regarded by many people as critical for the maintenance and transmission of our 'community values'. Some sociologists see schools as important agents of socialisation because of the regimented discipline they impose: punctuality, obedience, etc. They argue that this 'hidden curriculum' is more important and pervasive than we usually realise.

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The second aspect of socialisation which Thorns emphasises is the selection procedures by which alternative communities admit their members, procedures marked by a definite rite-of-passage. You have already examined examples of this ritual in Course HP01b, *Traditions*, (section 7.1). There you saw how such rituals mark the boundaries of a society's system of classification. There you saw why they are public, dramatic events. However, Thorns emphasises the practical dimension of these rituals: they act as a selection procedure for the community, permitting it to reject unsuitable members. As mentioned in Course HP01b, these rituals have an important impact on individuals as well, signalling in a very public way their changed status within the community or organisation.

Rites-of-passage are a public collective occasion which confirms the general evaluation that an individual is 'fit and worthy' to become a member of the community. Sociologists regard this process of evaluation as a critical component of socialisation. The commonly held values permit people to recognise which behaviour is good or bad in themselves and others. 'Correct' behaviour, 'doing the right thing', is a response to such evaluations and these codes of behaviour (learnt by experience and example not by formal education) are called norms. You have already come across the concept of 'norm' in Course HP01b, *Traditions*, section 2.

Thorns limits his description of the socialisation process to pre-adult socialisation. Values inculcated in childhood and adolescence are assumed to remain with individuals and influence their later choice to adopt the way of life of the community. Thorns's emphasis on childhood socialisation is not the only approach to this issue - many sociologists see socialisation more broadly as a continuous process occurring within any situation and, in extreme instances, capable of changing values and beliefs inculcated by earlier socialisation. When we read Martin's article, we will see how both childhood and adult socialisation seem to operate upon adults within the communities she studied. A further debate about socialisation concerns the degree to which the technology of the modern factory system constitutes a system of social control. Sociologists who study this form of social control regard the workplace, rather than the community, as the significant arena where modern society imposes discipline on its members. This is a question that is discussed more fully in Courses HP05a, *Work in History*, and HP05b, *Work in Australia*.

Social control is a pervasive aspect of communities, organisations and, indeed, any society. In this course we will consider the types of social control characteristic of the different types of community we study. We will examine particular ways by which communities contribute to the creation and maintenance of identity through the exercise of social control. 'Social control' is one of the key terms we will utilise in our description of different communities.

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## 2.3 The concept of local community

In section 2.1 we began our discussion of community by recalling the contrasting images of urban and rural life examined in Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*. This contrast often involved explicit value judgements which saw the quality of life in rural communities as superior to that in modern cities. The closeness, concern and cohesion of a small community were seen as supportive of individuals and a source of their identity. However, there were artists and intellectuals who reversed these value judgements. They saw the continuous public scrutiny of small communities as stultifying, their forms of social control a fetter to individual self-expression and a barrier to new ideas. By contrast, they praised the variety of contacts and the range of experiences which only the cosmopolitan city, with its possibility of anonymity and diversity, could provide. What is happening in this inversion is that the images, myths or stereotypes of urban and rural life have not changed, only the valuation and judgement which the writers are making about each situation. In the next two sections (2.3 and 2.4) we will explore the contrasting conceptions of community implied by such writing.

Reading 2 is a statement by a sociologist, Robert Nisbet, who extols the virtues of local communities. Whereas Thomas saw the conflict between individual and communal needs as a practical problem to be managed by appropriate measures within the communities he studied, Nisbet treats this as a general opposition, praises the virtues of old-style community and then disparages the claimed virtues of individualism. He would probably like to suggest that 'real communities' cannot exist in modern urban settings.

As already suggested (section 2.2), such idealisations of community are often statements of personal preference or values. The purpose of reading Nisbet is not to agree or disagree with his stance. The purpose of this reading is to allow us to delineate the positive qualities attributed to local community life.

In this article Nisbet refers to the work of the famous sociologist, Emile Durkheim. Durkheim (1858-1917) was one of the founders of modern sociology, and worked in France at the turn of the century. Durkheim was centrally concerned with the problem of social cohesion or solidarity, and Nisbet gives a succinct account of his major ideas on this subject. If you come across references to Durkheim in later courses you may wish to refer back to this summary of his ideas.

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Read Robert Nisbet, 'Moral values and community' (excerpts), reading 2, pp.1-4 and answer the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 5

1. According to Nisbet, what are the social (or 'moral-social') problems created by economic growth and the expansion of nation-states and bureaucracy in the twentieth century? (Just list a few of the phrases Nisbet uses to describe this.)

2. Why is 'the problem of community' a central aspect of these social problems?

3. What were Durkheim's optimistic views about how modern industrialism could create a new form of 'solidarity'?

4. How should social planners proceed if they wish to create community centres which develop 'community spirit' and a sense of 'community purpose'?

These questions direct attention to the main concerns of this reading. In section 2.2 we saw that the study of community raised questions about social control and socialisation. Nisbet's argument concerning community is that only small groups, particularly the family, can provide a context for effective socialisation. He uses the standard sociological terminology which identifies small groups as 'primary groups', and claims that such groups are necessary for the full development of human beings. Nisbet does not deal with the negative connotations associated with the concept of socialisation as social control. He sees only the positive aspects of socialisation. Primary groups provide the environment and values which permit us to develop our 'human potential'.

The second part of this reading is an attack upon the theories and ideas of liberalism, which Nisbet regards as justifying and legitimating the spread of impersonal organisations such as the state and other 'secondary associations'. Nisbet describes liberalism in terms of its view of human nature, its 'image of man', which creates a universal concept of 'the individual'. This concept (perhaps we could even call it a myth or stereotype) attributes certain characteristics to all individuals by regarding those characteristics as 'natural' or innate and hence not affected by historical changes or social contexts. This is, in effect, a theory of human nature.

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**********

Read Nisbet, reading 2, pp.4-5, and answer the following questions.

**********

SAQ 6

According to Nisbet,

1. what are the characteristics ('traits') of the liberal image of man? (Just note a few phrases or quotations)

2. what were the (mistaken) liberal views about freedom, individuality and creativity? (Again, just note a few phrases or quotations.)

Modern liberalism is founded on the ideas of its great thinkers - Locke, Adam Smith, Jefferson - to name but three. These thinkers could be regarded as coming from two disciplines - political theory and political economy. It is the political theorists that Nisbet focusses on in his critique. They described individuals as rational and autonomous. The more free people were of social constraint or impositions by others in society, the more human and rational they were. The great problem for political theorists was how man (women and children did not count because they were not capable of rational thought) could be governed but maintain his freedom.

The political economists provide a somewhat different answer to the problem of how the individual can be part of wider society:

> Nineteenth-century economic liberalism is another effort to reach this end, but by quite a different route. Its definition of the proper relation of man as individual and collective emphasised his freedom to do what he wished within very broad limits, ignoring the interest of others in the faith that the 'invisible hand' of the market place would allocate values, reward virtue, and punish vices. Individual aggrandizement would result in the greatest good of the collective. This 'solution' to the problem of community resulted in encouraging the entrepreneur and the innovator, at considerable cost to the traditional social values and, particularly, the weaker social classes. It produced a world valuing change, individuality, heterogeneity, and individual liberty. (Minar and Greer, 1969, pp.ix-x)

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For political economists, society consisted of a whole series of interactions between 'economic' men, men who now, according to Adam Smith (see below), related to each other only through their propensity to 'truck, barter or exchange'. This formulation sidesteps the problem of how individuals are socialised in society; it contains the same idea of free-standing autonomous individuals as does political theory.

Durkheim founded a basic sociological assumption when he retorted that man can never be free of society, because it is society - or the experience of socialisation - that creates man as truly human. Durkheim also largely disregarded women, suggesting that they 'needed' society less than men because they were less intelligent. To Durkheim, there was no such thing as an individual free of society; such an animal would have no language, culture or civilisation. As Durkheim said, 'we cannot ask whether we can be in society or not, but only which society we wish to be a part of'. This, of course, can lead to a very repressive notion of community - all social control is necessary and good. Modern writers have attempted to pose models of community which include some of liberalism's values of the free and independent individual.

## 2.4 The liberal-individualist concept of community

Reading 3, by Michael Polanyi, is an account of the organisation and operation of the international community of scientists. Like Nisbet, Polanyi goes beyond a mere description of this community to make a number of statements about the virtues of its liberal-individualist form of organisation. The reading comprises three sections: in the first (R3:1-2) Polanyi gives an elaboration of the liberal concept of community. He stresses the value of freedom and independent initiative and, by some striking examples, reveals the essential logic through which independent individual initiatives contribute to the realisation of a collective goal and the development of a working consensus. This is a philosophical statement of the liberal-individualist's concept of community.

Polanyi makes reference (as did the quotation at the end of the last section) to 'the invisible hand' of the market place. He identifies the origin of the phrase: it comes from the most influential statement of the economic ideas of liberalism, a book entitled *The Wealth of Nations* by Scottish political economist Adam Smith and published in 1776. Smith is a key figure in the rise of liberalism; you will find other references to him in the programme.

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Read Michael Polanyi, 'The republic of science: its political and economic theory' (excerpt), reading 3, pp.1-2.

**********

SAQ 7

According to Polanyi, why is the action of a scientist 'taking note of the published results of other scientists' analogous to a consumer monitoring commodity prices, and/or an individual in a team working effectively to complete a jigsaw puzzle?

The second section of this reading takes up practical issues about the judgement and evaluation of scientific work, while the third section describes the consensual operation of the scientific community.

**********

Read Polanyi, reading 3, pp.2-4, and answer the SAQ below.

**********

SAQ 8

1. According to Polanyi, how does the authority of scientific opinion direct, but not inhibit, scientific discovery? (State the main point in about 50 words.)

2. List three or four of Polanyi's examples of decisions which are controlled by scientific authority (R3:3-4).

Polanyi suggests that there are mechanisms of social control through which the scientific community 'manages' the tension between collective discipline and standards, and individual initiative. He states that there is a period of training, education and socialisation before young men (*sic*) become scientists (R3:4), and we can compare this to similar processes in Hutterite communities and kibbutzim. There is a further similarity: within the scientific community the conferring of a specialist degree (a doctorate or master's degree) is a rite-of-passage which admits the novice to full membership of the community. At the practical level, therefore, there are similarities between the local consensual communities studied by Thorns and the international community of scientists. The most important similarity is that the community of scientists is

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self-governing. Decisions about its organisation reflect an internal consensus. Like the kibbutzim or the Hutterites it is a consensual community.

At the conceptual level there is a clear opposition between the ideals of liberal-individualism and the idealised view of local community expressed by Nisbet. Polanyi's description of the scientific community gives positive recognition to the values of individuality, originality and creativity but balances this against collective needs. In the nineteenth century there were advocates of individualism who did not have such a balanced view. They argued passionately that individual expression should break away from collectively imposed, conventional morality. In the early-nineteenth century, this belief in individualism developed as part of liberal-individualist thinking, but its main exemplification was the writer or artist, rather than the scientist. In the next course, HP03b, *Authorship*, you will examine and criticise this 'expressive' image of the author, and will consider the range of social and institutional factors which come together to create this particular status and identity. In Course HP04a, *Cultural Formations*, you will further consider the historical context within which liberalism and the romantic image of the author developed and flourished.

This discussion introduces one of the key tensions in sociological writing: that between individual and society. Does society create the individual? Is the individual the author of society (after all who else would be)? This will be a recurring theme throughout this course.

We shall continue, too, in this course, looking at empirical studies of particular communities. Some of these communities will approximate the liberal concept of community, while others will be closer to the traditional concept of local community. These opposing conceptions of community are based on opposing sets of values and beliefs, and differing ideologies. It is, however, difficult to classify empirical examples of communities according to their basic values since these values are seldom articulated as explicitly as they were in the alternative communities studied by Thorns. Since this course emphasises the practical aspects of communal organisation which were raised in our reading of Thorns and Polanyi, we can best describe the difference between the alternative communities described by Thorns and the community of scientists as that between local and dispersed communities. The similarities between the scientific community and the alternative communities indicate that they will both be consensual communities. Thus, we have established two types of communities:

1. local consensual communities (the Hutterites, the kibbutzim)

2. dispersed consensual communities (the scientific community).

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SAQ 9

Go back to the examples you gathered under item 2 of the preliminary exercise (i.e., groups which share some common identifying characteristic).

1. Which of these communities would be sufficiently localised to have a high level of face-to-face interaction?

2. Which ones would be sufficiently dispersed to require some formal system of communications and exchange?

3. If you are involved in any such dispersed community of interest, what are the mechanisms which keep its members in touch?

## 2.5 The description of communities as social networks: problems of consensus and social control

On the last page of the Polanyi article, there is a description of the scientific community as a network of overlapping fields of knowledge. People or groups in one research area know others in closely related areas. They, in turn, know others, and so the chain goes on. In theory, each individual scientist is indirectly in contact with all others, but there is no central authority or hierarchy. Indeed, Polanyi rejects such a notion, claiming it would reduce scientists' 'joint effectiveness to that of the single person directing them from the centre' (R3:2). With such an amorphous structure, it is hard to see what the boundaries of such a community are and who is, or is not, a member. Loose-knit groups of scientists do exist, however, and sociologists of science regard these 'social circles' as perhaps the most important groupings within that community.

Reading 4, by Diana Crane, describes scientific networks in more detail. The basic method used for identifying the existence of a 'social circle' is the mapping of citations (i.e., a reference by one author to the work of another through a footnote and/or an entry in a bibliography).

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Read Diana Crane, 'Social circles in the scientific community' (excerpts), reading 4, and then answer the SAQ overleaf.

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SAQ 10

In about 10-20 words indicate

1. how we could recognise the existence of a scientific research area

2. how intimately someone in a social circle of scientists might know other scientists in that social circle.

As Crane notes, defining the membership of such a social circle is difficult and in the next section we will encounter the procedures of network analysis which Martin used to map out the social circles and larger social networks she discovered within Australian suburbia.

When a particular community is identified through the process of mapping out some observable social network, the question of consensus can be approached from a different angle to that encountered in the course thus far. Thorns assumed that a consensus existed within the communities he studied because there was a common set of values and beliefs which were maintained through the socialisation of new members. However, a social network does not have explicit socialisation procedures; only the recognition of a common interest brings its members together. How, and to what degree, such a community establishes a working consensus, and defines its ideology, become facts we must discover rather than things we can assume in advance.

The concept of a social network allows us to describe diverse examples of local and dispersed consensual communities. Network analysis may even discover communities which would not have been recognised as such in any other way. However, once such a community has been identified, it is a further task to discover what the consensual basis of that community is, and what mechanisms of social control can be exercised by the community over its members, given its degree of localisation or dispersion. These are questions which Martin takes up and which we will consider now.

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## 3 SOCIAL NETWORKS AND COMMUNITY IN AUSTRALIAN SUBURBIA

In this section of the course, we will concentrate on the reading of one substantial piece of work, Jean Martin's survey of people living in the Adelaide suburbs (reading 5). Section 2.1 has given you an indication of a major aspect of this work, while the other parts of section 2 have introduced the main sociological ideas which Martin uses. We have discussed these ideas in the context of other debates; it is useful now to summarise them in the terms which Martin uses.

- Why is the concept of social network useful?

  We have looked at social networks and social circles as a way of describing the loose-knit association of scientists as they communicate about some specific problems. Martin addresses the larger question, why is this concept more useful than others to describe all communities?

- How do we identify a social network?

  The descriptions of networks given in the readings raise this problem. The most accurate procedure involves observation of all contacts or exchanges among a group of people. Eventually a network is built up. For example, the two following diagrams show a hypothetical friendship network for eight people.

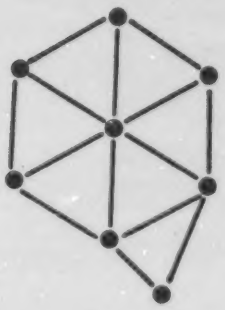

Figure 1

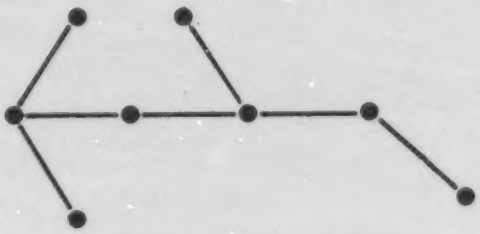

Figure 2

The first network is concentrated or dense - more people know each other - than the second. This network structure could be built up by observing these people; e.g. in the cafeteria each day. Such a strategy, however, is clearly impossible on any large scale. The alternative is to ask people to give their own reports of such contacts and exchanges. In the community of scientists, the apparatus of references and citations provides written evidence of such exchanges. In the social networks of suburbia, however, Martin relies on verbal reports of people's involvement in social networks.

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- What are the common values and beliefs (ideology) of any social network (community)?

  Since a social network need not have a written statement of its values and beliefs, a description of its shared values must be pieced together from the statements of its members. In the Australian suburban communities studied by Martin we can see whether liberal-individualist values, or those of local, more traditional communities, predominate.

- How effective is social control in specific social networks? Do individuals modify their behaviour to conform to the values of the community and to 'do the right thing' in the judgement of others? Alternatively, do cultural values guide people's choice of how and where to live?

  As previously indicated, Martin looks at this question in terms of the effects of childhood socialisation and the process of adult socialisation within the communities of suburbia (section 2.2).

The discussion of socialisation and social control relates directly to concepts of identity. The liberal-individualist perspective tends to regard individual identity as being relatively autonomous; the beliefs and values of mature individuals are quite well defined and their identity can be expressed in terms of those beliefs. The cultural values of individuals can then be expressed in the organisation and history of the communities they form. By contrast, the concept of adult socialisation suggests individuals modify their behaviour, and their 'selves' (i.e., values they will espouse, even their sense of self-identity) in response to the pressures of their social environment. This is another way of formulating the individual-society tension introduced above.

These are the explicit links between the material of Martin's article, the themes of section 2, and the study objectives of the course. There are also two points of comparison between her work and other materials you have encountered in the programme:

- In Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*, you distinguished between 'formal' and 'informal' types of evidence. The evidence in this reading is all formal evidence, in that it was collected by systematic survey of households. We shall also consider the types of (formal) evidence Martin has collected: e.g. information about behaviour, or statements of values.

- Martin's study is a comparative study: she has selected her samples according to some overall design. We have seen how Thorns followed similar procedures in selecting appropriate communities to study (section 2.2), and we can understand Martin's article as a comparative exercise.

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Before we begin the detailed examination of this reading, it is useful to get a rough overview of its main argument and structure.

**********

Read Jean Martin, 'Suburbia: community and network' (excerpts), reading 5, pp.1-4.

Read this first section through and try to identify, by giving each a number, the three sets of questions Martin sets out. Isolate the question which best summarises each set and make short notes of the answer Martin provides. You will then be able to answer the following SAQ very quickly.

**********

SAQ 11

1. What is the 'cultural values' approach?

2. How does the concept of social network permit Martin to overcome the gap ('the hiatus') between studies of community as relationships and studies of communities as groups within a locality? (Don't spend too much time on the discussion of 'sets' and the technical aspects of network analysis at this point.)

The 'cultural values' approach suggests that patterns of settlement reflect human values rather than ecological or technological factors. In this study guide the basic principles of this approach will be extended to provide a contrast with the idea that society is able to mould the identities of adults, and hence their basic values and beliefs. Applied to questions of social control and community organisation, the cultural values approach will be taken to suggest that individuals' values are formed by early socialisation and then become the basis on which they actively participate in their communities. The organisation and lifestyle of the community are, therefore, a reflection of these basic values and beliefs, not the forces which create them.

The alternative communities you studied in the previous section exemplify this approach. In the successful ones, childhood socialisation had to be controlled by the community so that adults admitted to the community all agreed upon a common set of values and beliefs. These values and beliefs then provided the basis of a working consensus on practical issues. These procedures ensure that there is no conflict between the values inculcated by childhood socialisation and the values enforced by the

institutions of the community. This overlap does not occur within society in general. Childhood socialisation occurs in a variety of settings, with the family being the most important, and families are free to instil a variety of values and beliefs. For example, ethnic communities in Australia deliberately attempt to maintain their own traditions for their members.

Because of the possibility that the childhood socialisation of individuals may differ from that imposed by the dominant institutions of a society, a cultural values approach would suggest that individuals' values and beliefs can be the basis for their changing the institutions and traditions of a community. Furthermore, this will be facilitated when these individuals can generate a sense of common identity ('us' and 'them') on the basis of their shared values and beliefs. Additionally, the implication of a cultural values approach is that communities can be formed by people with common values moving to an area or suburb to sustain the particular lifestyle they see as desirable in the terms given by their early socialisation. The community which results will reflect these values.

Now that you have a general idea of the main concerns of the article and the way it will be used in this course, you can consider its structure in terms of the main subheadings.

The research;
The network of family and kin;
Neighbours;
Associations;
The meaning of community.

You will see that the section on 'The research' tells us how the study was done, the next three sections give the results (they contain the tables) and the final section addresses the first of the sets of questions raised by the introduction. Dip into each section, read the first paragraphs, look at the tables and so on. There is even a map which will help you get a mental picture of the different communities since they are given fictional names based on their geographic relation to the city.

We will now examine the article in terms of this structure.

## 3.1 The Adelaide study: basic concepts and comparative design

Although Martin makes networks the central concept of her discussion, the research described in the study is not a fully developed network analysis. If it had been, the respondents (the people being interviewed) would have been selected by a different procedure. Martin would have asked her first group of respondents questions such as:

Which of your parents do you talk to when you have a personal problem you want to discuss?

Which of your friends do you visit most often?

She would then interview the people who were named, and ask them the same question until she had worked her way through the network.

Instead of a complete network analysis, Martin's research was a formal household survey. She is therefore only able to get information about an isolated portion of any network in which the people in one household are involved. By asking people about the number of contacts they have with others, and the nature of those contacts, Martin has only limited information from which to make statements about the whole social network of which that individual (or household) is a part. In later sections we will consider her actual evidence and the generalisations about social networks which can, or cannot, be made from it.

Martin chose her respondents by selecting a random sample of households from three localities (Eastville, Westville and Northville). She then 'culled' the samples to match up occupational groups and to eliminate households which were not relatively well established in the area. This 'culling' (of white collar households in Northville for instance) may strike you as questionable. However, it is a perfectly acceptable technique when a researcher wishes to know about a 'pure' or 'model' type situation, e.g. a working-class suburb, not a mixed suburb. Of course, Martin is no longer gathering data on Northville (which has some white collar residents) but is now constructing a picture of the pure working-class suburb.

**********

Read Martin, reading 5, pp.4-6, 'The research'. Make a few notes on the characteristics of each of the four groups of suburban residents she samples: Eastville, Westville middle class, Westville working class and Northville.

**********

Martin's sampling and selection procedures yield four samples. She suggests that these samples form a single continuum of class differences (R5:5) and arranges them in this order in her tables:

| | |
|---|---|
| Upper middle | Eastville |
| Lower middle | Westville middle class |
| Upper working | Westville working class |
| Lower working | Northville |

Although it is not explicitly developed in her article, these samples can also be compared in terms of a two-dimensional (two-by-two) grid. There are middle-class and

working-class samples in new communities (those established since World War II) and matching samples in the old community, Westville. The grid is as follows:

| | Middle Class | Working Class |
|---|---|---|
| Old suburb | Westville MC | Westville WC |
| New suburb | Eastville | Northville |

Sociologists set up research designs like this in order to try to isolate the effects of the different variables which are set out on the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the grid. Let us take an example. Suppose we were measuring some phenomenon of interest: for Martin it is to what extent individuals are involved in social networks, but it could be something like the level of drug use or the divorce rate. If we agree that its incidence increases in new suburbs (because of their special character) we could measure it in both the Northville sample and in the whole Westville group (i.e., both the middle-class and working-class groups). If our hypothesis (our 'theory') were true, the incidence of the 'dependent variable' (in this case, drug use or divorce) will be higher in Northville. We would then argue that this is an effect of the problems associated with new suburbs. However, someone who believed that the levels of drug use or divorce are related to people's class background (rather than new versus old suburb) will then argue that the result really reflects the fact that there are more middle-class people in the Westville group.

How can we avoid this problem? The answer is to set up comparisons which can measure the change in the dependent variable (drug use or divorce) without interference from the extraneous factor of class background. Like scientists selecting a 'control' group in an experiment, Martin has matching groups in her survey. We saw a similar procedure which eliminated the effects of one variable, ideological disunity, in Thorns's article (section 2.2, reading 1). In reading Martin's article (reading 5) we will be able to make comments about the effects of living in a new suburb for both middle-class and working-class families.

Martin wanted to measure the level of interaction and social communication within each sample: in other words, the degree to which the individuals in each sample were participating in social networks. Let us now consider the evidence she presents on this point.

## 3.2 Patterns of interaction and association 1

Martin's evidence and results are presented under the headings: Family; Neighbours; Associations. This section of the study guide will deal with the material on the family through a series of specific questions. The study guide

will comment on the questions themselves, suggesting why they are framed in a particular way. It will then provide the answers, and some additional discussion. In the next section the same questions will be presented as normal SAQs so that you will formulate the answers yourself.

In this section you should proceed as follows:

1. Read the SAQ and its commentary.

2. Go to the reading and answer the SAQ with a few notes.

3. Come back to the answer in the study guide and make sure you understand its relationship to the reading.

SAQ 12

1. What type of evidence is presented in Table 1? (E.g., is it evidence about what people felt or what people did?)

2. What questions were the respondents actually asked?

Commentary (SAQ 12): The purpose of beginning with this question is to make sure we understand the basic evidence - the observations - which were collected by the interviewers and have been assembled in the table. Tables can represent the systematic collection of many different types of evidence. All of Martin's evidence is formal evidence, but it is evidence of different things. Sometimes it is evidence about what people did (i.e., their behaviour or actions), sometimes it is evidence about their values and beliefs. By way of contrast, census household surveys collect information of a quite concrete kind: 'How many children do you have?'; 'How many bathrooms in your house?' etc. Some other studies may collect evidence of opinions and attitudes: 'Should capital punishment be abolished?'; 'Should the dole be reduced?' etc. You should note that the statistical form of the evidence does not guarantee the accuracy of the information or its validation. The question itself must be appropriate and it must be asked of respondents who can be expected to know.

In the article, the information to answer this question is given in the headings of the columns and in the footnotes to the table. Although we don't know the actual questions Martin asked, since she doesn't reproduce her original questionnaire, we can guess that she must have asked questions about the number of kin people had within certain distances and then further questions about the nature and frequency of 'contact' with them (see footnote 3 to Table 1, p.7). You should note that although this table contains an

important set of information, the text of the article does not 'read' the table at the level of detail required by this SAQ. You need to do it for yourself.

Answer (SAQ 12): In Martin's study, interaction with kin (parents and siblings of the husband and wife) was measured in terms of the number of contacts which respondents had with kin within a given time. This information was gathered from the respondents.

From the headings and footnotes to Table 1 we can deduce that respondents were asked how many kin they had in Australia, in Adelaide and within a two-mile radius. This information is tabulated in columns 1 to 5. 'Contact' is carefully defined in footnote 3; different time periods apply to kin within and outside Adelaide. Respondents must have been asked 'Have you seen x, y, z (kin in Adelaide) in the last two weeks?' and a similar question for kin outside Adelaide. The number of kin each family contacted is given in column 10. Columns 12 and 13 give a different measure of contact - the number of families who were contacted by, or who contacted, the wife.

The evidence collected here is not really about the degree of involvement of each family in the kinship network. It tells us only the number of links each respondent's family has in the network. Thus, it may be that Eastville families see fewer kin (column 10), but they may see them more often. We do not have sufficient evidence to judge. Their personal involvement in networks is not accurately measured by the information given in the table.

Nor should you be misled by the figure for the Northville sample in column 9. This figure just indicates the number of potential contacts in their pool of kinfolk. That pool is larger for the Northville sample (column 5), so contact with the same number of kin as other groups is actually lower as a proportion of potential contact.

At this stage you have read the table for yourself. You will have thought about the way this aspect of the study was done and the techniques that were used. You might have a number of ideas on how you would want to see the study done differently. This is a good sign that you have learnt to deal with information and data on your own account, without relying on the author's exposition of its significance.

SAQ 13

Which comparisons are highlighted in Martin's written exposition of Table 1 (R5:7)? Are these comparisons supported by the evidence? (Just say 'yes' or 'no' and choose one or two bits of evidence from the table which justify your answer.)

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Commentary (SAQ 13): Once we are clear about the nature of the evidence which has been compiled by the interviewer we can be clear about what can, and cannot, be said about it.

We can also cross-check assertions made in the written text with the tabulated evidence. In order to extract 'bits' of information from a table like this it is usually necessary to summarise the raw numbers by means of an average (i.e., the 'mean') or a percentage. See which bits of information Martin uses, and choose the one or two appropriate to your interpretation.

**********

Now read Martin, reading 5, p.6 and answer SAQ 13 above.

**********

Answer (SAQ 13): Martin discusses certain comparisons which, as indicated above, are not germane to the central question of the article. Furthermore, the figures in the text and the table are not consistent. This shows how tables allow us to double-check an author's thinking and see if it is an accurate account of the tabulated evidence.

Martin summarises the main finding of the survey by reference to the comparisons made in columns 10, 12 and 13. On these measures the 'Westville working class emerges as the most involved in kin ties and the Eastville sample the least'. With the qualification that involvement is in terms of number of kin contacted, not frequency of contact, this statement is accurate. The comparisons suggest that class and suburb both have effects on kin contact as follows:

1. If we compare the Westville working-class and Westville middle-class samples we are looking only at effects associated with class, and controlling for effects associated with living in new suburbs. Within Westville there is a difference between the working-class and middle-class samples.

2. In the two new suburbs there is a similar effect on both classes. Both middle class and working class in the new suburbs (Eastville and Northville) have a lower amount of contact than their counterparts in Westville.

3. The effects of class and new suburbs reinforce each other in certain ways. The middle-class group in the new suburb (Eastville) has the lowest amount of contact. The working class in the old suburb (Westville) has the highest.

Sociologists have long maintained that working-class families, particularly the women, remain more involved with their own families after marriage than do their middle-class counterparts. This is often related to working-class

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traditions which value co-operation and collectivism (i.e., they are closer to the communitarian ideals discussed in section 2), as opposed to middle-class preferences for privatised living and an individualistic ethic (i.e., they are closer to liberal-individualist ideals discussed in section 2). These differences are muted by the mixed nature of Westville, but they are accentuated by the relative middle-class homogeneity of Eastville. They will emerge as the most interesting contrasts throughout the article.

Up to this stage we have been reading the article in terms of the material in the tables and our interpretation of this material. The contrast between the Eastville group and the others is one we follow through in this article, even though Martin doesn't deal with it explicitly. Don't be put off by this procedure, it is quite legitimate to use an article in this fashion, extracting from it the things which interest you. You will do this more often as you continue in the programme. With the next question, however, we move on to consider evidence which is contained in the text of the reading.

SAQ 14

What sort of relationships did Martin's respondents have with their kinfolk?

Commentary (SAQ 14): Evidence on this would come in response to a question such as 'Do you think it is good to keep up with your family?' and some sort of amplification of the response, e.g. 'Why do you feel that way?'. This is a different type of question to an informational question. In section 2.2, we described how evaluation of self and others was an aspect of social control. With her questionnaire Martin elicited evidence about her respondents' evaluations of their contacts with kinfolk, and in this reading she briefly describes her conclusions, which are written up in another article.

Martin has not assembled the responses to this type of question into a table. This might be because the responses were so diverse and varied that they cannot be easily categorised. It is also possible that she didn't ask her respondents a specific question about this aspect of their lives but simply noted their responses to and comments on general questions. This type of evidence is quite legitimate when it is collected and recorded in a systematic way, as Martin has done. It is harder to summarise its main points, as we cannot use means and percentages. For this reason it is called 'qualitative data' to distinguish it from the 'quantitative data' of tables. In the next section we will read about Martin's qualitative data on her respondents' relationships with neighbours.

**********

Now re-read Martin, reading 5, p.6, last paragraph.

**********

Answer (SAQ 14): Martin claims that all four samples valued kin contacts for the emotional support and companionship they provided. On the other hand, it is also suggested that reciprocal exchange relations are also valued, relations which might be devoid of significant emotional meaning. This suggests that kin contacts might sometimes be sustained for non-emotional, practical reasons. There are no comparisons made between the samples.

Martin is uncertain about the degree to which her respondents are emotionally involved in their network of kin. We could restate this concern as a question about the basis of consensus which sustains those networks:

> Is the basis of consensus a shared belief in the values of family life and the traditions and rituals it involves?
>
> or
>
> Is the basis of consensus an implicit agreement (or contract) for the exchange of services and support?

These alternatives reflect the different bases of consensus suggested by local consensual and liberal-individualist concepts of community. At this stage Martin does not indicate which concept of community underlies the social networks she has described.

SAQ 15

In the same paragraph as used in SAQ 14, Martin describes how the behaviour of her respondents is influenced by others in the social network of kin:

1. According to Martin, how did her respondents judge the behaviour of others in the network of kinfolk?

2. Do they adjust their behaviour to conform to the judgements of others?

Commentary (SAQ 15): These questions direct us towards Martin's discussion about social control and her statements about how it operates within particular social networks. It is important to realise, however, that the answer given to the second part of SAQ 15 is not based on direct evidence. People do not think about why they act and seldom give a

useful answer to the question, 'Why do you behave in a certain way?'. In Australia and most other Western societies there is a positive valuation of independence ('being one's own man/woman') related to the traditions of liberal individualism, traditions we have discussed in section 1. Thus, Martin reports, 'most of the people interviewed were adamant that relatives must not be allowed to run one's lives'.

Given such explicit denials, the evidence which is brought to bear on this question is often indirect. It may be inferred from things that respondents say in answer to other questions, or it may be a systematic interpretation by the interviewer of stories given by respondents, or of their answers to general questions about the problems of their life. Such evidence is more diffuse than responses to informational questions, and to make such evidence valid (i.e., repeated instances of a certain thing) the interviewer must pick out recurrent patterns in this diffuse qualitative evidence.

Answer (SAQ 15): Martin claims to see a recurrent pattern of thinking among her respondents. They have certain kin who are 'models' of 'good' (or 'bad') family members. Her respondents adjust their behaviour to conform to that implied by the evaluations of these 'models'.

You should note that this description of social influence assumes that the members of this social network evaluate and discuss each other's behaviour. In this way these 'models' are collective, not individual, phenomena. However, they have an effect on individual behaviour and, in this way, the culture of the group is controlling its members. Martin is drawing attention to the power of gossip as a means of social control.

Martin's answers to these questions constitute her discussion of social control within suburban kinship networks. She claims that she is using a 'cultural values' approach within this article (section 3, SAQ 11, p.27) and her description of the workings of this network are consistent with that approach. That approach would suggest that values are formed in early childhood within the family and other primary groups and that these values then determine which of the available 'models' are emulated or avoided. People seek out adult contacts and networks which are consonant with their values; what is uncertain, however, is whether her respondents are able to disengage themselves from the emotional legacy of family and relate to their kinfolk on the same basis as they relate to other adults.

In this section we have examined the way in which Martin has gathered evidence about the kinship networks of suburban Adelaide. We have examined the different types of (formal) evidence she gathered and the conclusions which she presented on the basis of that evidence. Although Martin presents evidence that the level of contact is different

among the four samples, she does not make systematic comparisons of each group's values and mechanisms of social control operating in each. We do not know whether the different levels of contact within each sample reflect the different values these people held. In describing the neighbourhood networks of suburbia, however, she does give us some more evidence of such differences.

## 3.3 Patterns of interaction and association 2

Although the previous section of the study guide (section 3.2) generated more discussion than was in the article itself, the remainder of the article can be read quite quickly. The study guide provides SAQs. The answers are given, with the other answers to SAQs, at the end of the study guide, but the study guide still provides the points for further discussion.

The best procedure is for you to take each SAQ, work out the answer and check it with the answer at the back of the guide. Stop then and think about the broader implications of what you have read and note down any ideas you have. After that come back to the study guide discussion and then go on to the next SAQ.

**********

Re-read Martin, reading 5, pp.8-9 and Table 3, and then answer the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 16

What evidence is given on contacts with neighbours? How was it compiled (R5:8-9 and Table 3)? (Short answers: you should be able to reconstruct three of the questions which produced this evidence.)

(NB: Go back to SAQ 12 to see how this was done for 'kin' questions.)

These questionnaire items measured the average size of the neighbour network (in terms of number of people contacted rather than number of visits). The second set of materials tell us to what extent the potential of next-door contact was taken. Martin also discusses the substance of these contacts.

SAQ 17

What comparisons among the samples are highlighted in the written exposition (R5:8-9)? Are these supported by the evidence? (Look for statements of the form 'Westville residents are more/less likely to do a,b,c than Northville residents', or some variation of this.)

The material in this section relates mostly to the extreme cases of the Eastville and Northville groups. Despite the evidence in Table 3, the Eastville sample appears to be the most privatised or 'stand-offish'. They do not have close contacts with neighbours and so can avoid the public scrutiny which, it is suggested, is more evident in the other communities.

The Northville families are a direct contrast. They are much more closely involved in the lives of their neighbours and share responsibilities, tasks and, in some cases, food and money. These contrasts suggest that the nature of community was different in each suburb and the values and beliefs of people in each community differed markedly with respect to what is, or is not, acceptable behaviour.

Martin's discussion of values seems to emphasise the peculiarity of the Eastville sample. It is not only that they value independence, as do the Westville group; it is also that they avoid the contacts and interaction that the Westville group would accept as normal. However, it is not clear whether they have a negative evaluation of such contacts, or if their behaviour results from a positive valuation of 'independence'. We can explore this further by looking at Martin's discussion of social control. Note that sanctions can be either positive or negative; 'sanction' is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as 'penalty or reward for (dis)obedience'.

**********

Read Martin, reading 5, pp.9-10, and then complete the SAQ on the following page.

**********

SAQ 18

How could neighbours in each suburb

1. exercise social control by the use of sanctions?

2. influence each other's behaviour and the long-term consolidation of attitudes and values?

(Just note a few points.)

In this discussion of social control, Martin is more explicit about the ways in which the pressures and demands of local networks contribute to the consolidation of attitudes and values. She is suggesting, even more clearly than before, that adults' social relations with one another create pressures which amount to a form of adult socialisation. Evaluations and judgements of neighbours and of the neighbourhood are continuously being made, Martin suggests, and these judgements affect the values which people hold. By identifying deviance, the norms are more clearly established (R5:10 and R5:20, footnote 28). Cultural values may be being influenced by, rather than forming, the community.

Within Northville more direct mechanisms of social control appear to operate, as well as these indirect mechanisms operating in Westville and Eastville. Neighbours interfere directly in each other's lives, and use outside authorities to 'get at' one another. Martin suggests that Northville residents, rather than maintaining a mutual respect for each other's privacy and independence, respond to the frustrations of their own lives by making their neighbours' lives miserable through interference, gossip etc. (cf. discussion of SAQ 15). In reading *Asylums* (section 4), we will see another instance where relatively oppressed groups fail to develop any mutually supportive, collective responses to their situation.

The next section of the article ('Associations') measures the respondents' participation in what we might term 'public life'. There is a consistent pattern, repeated in Tables 4, 5, 6 and 7, of greater middle-class participation. By contrast, the Northville sample participates least of all. This material can be read in the light of SAQs 13 and 14, section 3.2. The article also gives many further interesting details about each of the samples, including more information on the differing patterns of husbands' and wives' participation. The overall trend, like that of the material on kinship, is consistent with previous sociological findings: fewer working-class people join formal associations or participate in public events. This trend is accentuated by the physical isolation

of Northville, so that group is least active of all. A similar diminution of participation does not occur in the Eastville sample however; its participation remains as high as that of the Westville middle class.

Martin discusses the differences between working-class and middle-class groups in some detail in the section on associations.

**********

Read Martin, reading 5, pp.10-15, and then complete the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 19

How might a householder in Northville explain his/her lack of involvement in formal organisations? (Don't be afraid to create a first person monologue; a few sentences is enough.)

As with the material on neighbours, Martin suggests that there are interesting differences in the nature of the Eastville and Westville middle-class samples. These differences are indicated by the material in Table 5 (each group's participation in local and non-local associations) and the different number of individuals who not only participate but are office-holders in associations.

**********

Re-read Martin, reading 5, pp.14-15, and then answer the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 20

Suggest how the positive 'model' of the middle-class household head differs in Eastville and Westville with respect to involvement in formal associations.

Your answers to the last two SAQs take us away from intensive consideration of Martin's evidence, to a consideration of the different values, beliefs and 'cultural worlds' of each community. There are two reasons for considering these differences carefully:

1. It helps us develop a conception of the persons and lifestyles which are characteristic of each of the communities Martin has studied. We can compare them with the types of community outlined in section 2. We will take up this line of thought in section 4.

2. Martin suggests that 'cultural constructs' are an important aspect of the mentality and thinking of her respondents. They are the most visible manifestation of her respondents' cultural values and, by making negative and positive judgements on them, they guide her respondents' behaviour. This aspect of Martin's article also develops our notion of social control, and it is useful to summarise our discussion of social control up to this point.

### 3.4 Cultural values and social control

In section 2 we saw that Thorns regarded social control as operating most effectively when childhood socialisation and early education were followed by a definite rite-of-passage which marked the individual's acceptance of the values of his/her community. We noted, however, that social networks are able to exist without these institutionalised socialisation procedures. The cultural values approach could be interpreted as stressing the relative stability of values inculcated by early socialisation (see the study guide discussion following SAQ 15, pp.35-36). New suburbs then become cohesive communities as people seek out the areas where people with similar values have congregated.

Martin's discussion of social control does not fully support a cultural values approach. Interaction within community social networks does affect the cultural values people espouse. If we believe that such socialisation is even more widespread and pervasive than Martin suggests, we could claim that people, even mature adults, are socialised by their communities so that their values and identity come to conform to the values and expected identity of whatever community they are involved in. This statement would represent an extreme view of socialisation processes. Moreover, in reading *Asylums* we will examine one situation - the 'community' of the mental asylum - which does explicitly attempt such 'moral reform' through a resocialisation of the individual.

However dismal Martin's description of life in Northville, she does not see its degree of social control as comparable to that in an asylum. Although there are interesting similarities which we will note when we read *Asylums*, we will be conscious of the differences as well. The notion of social control is often over-generalised to suggest that we are all trapped into conformity, that society is a gigantic prison which channels our behaviour and moulds our sense of identity. You will discuss this idea in Tutorial Two.

The image of society suggested by the cultural values approach is in contrast to this image of society as a prison. It suggests that communities (and hence society) reflect the values and beliefs which people bring into the community, and the institutions and traditions which that community values reflect a working consensus on how these values and beliefs are to be put into practice.

The collective and individual identities of people within the community are also consistent with these values and beliefs. However, from the viewpoint of a 'pure' cultural values approach, this simply reflects the survival of these cultural values rather than the impact of the community's socialisation on individuals. To make sense of this picture, we need to assume that the family, or other small groups, maintain these values rather than the institutions sponsored by the community.

Martin suggests that the Eastville sample comes closest to achieving a community of this kind. The lifestyle and community life of that suburb seems compatible with her respondents' values and beliefs and they appear to have chosen to live there because of this compatibility. Thus, the organisation of the community reflects these pre-existing values. However, the Eastville sample is only one of the groups which Martin studied; the situation of the other groups might be different. Martin goes into this in the last section of her article.

## 3.5 Types of community in the Adelaide study

The final section of Martin's article develops her main themes about the meaning of community among those people she interviewed who are settled and integrated into their communities, and the nature of the suburban networks in which they are involved. The early pages of her final section suggest that people have separate 'cultural constructs' related to their notions of (a) 'family lifestyle' and (b) 'community'. Most people assumed that the various characteristics of each 'construct' were compatible (in Martin's terms, the 'constructs' were 'congruent'). People also had distinct images of their own and other localities, and could therefore make judgements about the degree to which their local community permitted them to live in a fashion consistent with their ideal 'cultural constructs' of 'family lifestyle' and of 'community'.

**********

Read Martin, reading 5, pp.16-17 and complete the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 21

1. Which groups in Martin's study regard their local community as fulfilling their cultural constructs of family lifestyle and community?

2. List two or three of the reasons why some individuals (or households) were not involved in their local communities.

In the second part of this final section (R5:18-19), Martin looks at the degree to which each of her samples formed self-contained networks and, hence, the degree to which these networks promoted 'social cleavages' and self-identification (the identification of 'us' and 'them'). As could be expected, the Northville and Eastville groups were the most homogeneous in terms of class, and the most self-contained. In Westville, by contrast, a common identification with the local community cuts across class differences in a fashion characteristic of old-style communities.

In the third part of this final section, Martin develops the categories of network analysis to define three types of social network: the community-type network; a clustered network; and a loose-knit network. (The final category might better be described as a non-network.)

**********

Read Martin, reading 5, pp.16-17.

**********

Martin assumes that each type of network can be either a local or non-local (what we have called dispersed) community. We can sort out these categories on a two-by-two table:

| | Local | Dispersed |
|---|---|---|
| Community-type network | Westville | Eastville (?) |
| Clustered network | | Eastville (?) |

Martin cannot decide whether Eastville is a community-type or clustered non-local (dispersed) network. Without a full network analysis she probably has insufficient information to decide. This discussion could lead to a further refinement of the categories of local and dispersed consensual communities used in section 2. Such further refinement is, however, not germaine to our interest in these categories.

Rather than refining our categories further, we can use Martin's article to give us examples of local and dispersed communities and a description of the values, beliefs and lives of people within these two types of community. Westville is a local consensual community which has thus far survived Adelaide's industrial and urban growth. Its inhabitants seem to retain the older values of local community: a belief in sharing; an interest in others; and a basic egalitarianism. Some of these values would be defined through opposition to the 'stand-offish', 'materialist' values of Eastville residents. Eastville, on the other hand, is an example of a newer style of community where a positive value is placed on privacy and independence. Eastville residents lend support to formally constituted associations and have a positive view of the virtues of the middle class. They would probably endorse the arguments made by Polanyi in reading 3. You might like to pursue this idea further by looking at the Litwak and Szelenyi article which Martin cites in footnote 33. It is one of the further readings for the course, listed on p.77 below.

Martin's description of Northville presents it as the least cohesive community of the three she studied (i.e., it has only a loose-knit network). Although some Northville residents value the basic amenities it does offer, others resent the shortage of amenities and lack of privacy. Their resentments hinder the development of mutuality, and there seems to be little respect for the privacy and independence of neighbours. In some respects it is an enforced community: people live there because economic or social constraints make it impossible for them to go elsewhere. But enforced propinquity does not seem to produce a consensus about practical programmes of collective community improvement, nor are there any common values. Social control is evident in this community, but it does not appear to be effectively socialising its members to conformity. In the next section we will consider the environment of the mental asylum, which has certain similarities to the situation of Northville.

## 4 ASYLUMS: BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL AND MORAL ORDER

Although there are some possible similarities between Northville and a mental asylum, there are, at first sight, few characteristics in common between inmates of a mental hospital and the settled and established residents of a suburb like Eastville. However, we can make a link in terms of the comparisons and contrasts we have been making among different types of communities.

Thus far we have compared two types of communities: local consensual communities and dispersed consensual communities. The Hutterites, the kibbutzim and Westville are examples of the first type; the international community of scientists and Eastville are examples of the second type (the degree of dispersal, of course, is very different). In this section of the course we are examining local and, to a certain extent, isolated communities which are not founded on a consensus: mental hospitals, gaols, boarding schools and other total institutions operate through a fixed and administered regime; there are no opportunities for democratic decision-making as there are in the Hutterite settlements or the kibbutzim. For the moment we can label these examples (asylums, gaols, etc.) local non-consensual communities, and treat them as a third type of community. As suggested previously (section 3.3, and discussion of SAQ 18, section 3.5) the community of Northville might also be seen as a non-consensual community. Many of its residents felt that they were not living there out of choice, the presence of external authorities (the Housing Trust and the police) was evident and there was a lack of solidarity among the members of the community.

SAQ 22

Place the following communities in the boxes in the matrix below.

Hutterites
The scientific community
Eastville
Northville
Kibbutzim
Westville
Mental hospitals
Gaols

| | Local | Dispersed |
|---|---|---|
| Consensual communities | | |
| Non-consensual communities | | |

In this section we will be focussing on the difference between local consensual communities and local non-consensual communities. Insofar as this comparison generates further insights into the general issues of community and social control, we can then apply those insights to a discussion of dispersed consensual communities. These links are established through the general notion of social control. SAQ 18 drew attention to two types of social control operating within Northville, physical sanctions (e.g. reprisals against neighbours) and non-physical forms of control, which operate when people, as 'models' of behaviour, are evaluated as either good or bad. In defining social control (section 2.2) we noted the existence of physical forms of social control, e.g. legal or economic sanctions, but regarded them as mechanisms of last resort. In most situations the non-physical forms of social control are the most evident.

The mental hospital is, however, one institution where physical forms of social control operate quite openly. Moreover, if such control is to be 'successful' (i.e., to reform the inmates to accept asylum life), it has to remould the inmates into a voluntary and willing compliance with the prevailing standards of the asylum's culture. This movement represents a dramatic form of adult socialisation and is studied by Goffman in these terms. It is not just an inculcation of values or a voluntary adaptation of models to be emulated or disparaged, it could also be seen as a transformation of a person's identity.

Rather than discuss this issue purely in relation to identity, we will also use the sociological concept of role. Identity is difficult to define, while role means the part social actors play in society. There are family roles (wife, daughter), work roles (boss, janitor), community roles (mayor, village idiot): in fact every aspect of social life has roles associated with it. Roles usually prescribe a set of acceptable behaviours and interactions, perhaps even beliefs and values. We could say that a person's identity is a collection of all the roles he or she plays. This is a very sociological conception of the relation between individual and society, one we return to in section 4.5.

In Martin's article, the question of role came up indirectly through her discussion of 'models' which people created to give themselves negative and positive guides. There was an assumption that these people identified with the positive models and adjusted their behaviour in accordance with these models. They identified with them and used them to tailor their roles accordingly. However, because of his interest in the 'sociology of the self', Goffman's book detailed an intricate discussion of these questions of self-identity. Goffman's book provides a more direct analysis of how people lose one role (normal social member) and take on another (mental patient inmate). The extent to which this role becomes total, their only role, will be discussed below; as will the process of role change.

*Asylums* is, in fact, not a single book but a collection of essays written over a period of time. As a consequence, the main themes are not developed in a direct sequence and discussion of similar points can occur in quite separate places. The preface and introduction describe the basic research from which the book developed. However, you should note that some of the essays are reports of research, as was Martin's article, but other essays are reflections on general issues raised by that research.

**********

Read Erving Goffman, *Asylums*, preface and introduction, pp.7-12.

**********

SAQ 23

1. What is the basic task the author set himself? (Find some short quotes which sum this up.)

2. How did he collect his evidence about life within total institutions?

The method which Goffman used to collect his evidence about life in St Elizabeth's Hospital is usually called 'participant observation'.

1. In terms of the distinction between formal and informal evidence used in Course HP02b and discussed previously in this course (section 3.1), this method is formal, since the observer spends a long period of time in the situation under observation and makes detailed notes of everything seen and heard. Unlike a questionnaire survey, such as Martin carried out, the observer does not systematically ask the same questions of each person, but assumes that sufficient observation will allow the collection of just as much evidence without ever having to ask directly.

2. The participant observer can gather the same types of evidence as Martin elicited with her questionnaire, such as information about the number and nature of contacts between members of a social network. This evidence is gathered by direct observation rather than self-reporting by respondents. The observer can note statements or actions which reflect the values of the people being observed, and can gather the varied stories and statements which allow the observer to surmise how the behaviour of an individual is influenced by mechanisms of social control.

3. Most of the material collected by a participant observer is qualitative data (cf. section 3.2, discussion of SAQ 14). Each day Goffman would have made field notes which recorded all the events and interactions he had observed. At the end of his year of field work he would have gone over the notes, generating a sense of the pattern of events and gathering examples of similar instances together. The act of summarising a large amount of raw data accurately is one of the most difficult aspects of this type of sociological research.

Participant observers claim that their method has one major advantage over questionnaires. Being 'on the spot' they can 'live through' the experience of others. They can hear the cynicism and sarcasm in the warder's voice as he castigates a prisoner, they can see the confusion and despair in the faces of mental patients when they hear that their condition requires a course of shock treatment. In Goffman's terms, participant observers are able to describe the world of these people from its own partisan view, from 'within' as it were.

On the other hand, of course, the participant observer only sees some things and not others. Depending on his or her role, the observer will have more access to some members of the community. This is particularly true of communities with a clear distinction between 'governors' and 'governed' (e.g. managers and workers, warders and inmates). Does one join as a governor or a member of the governed? How did Goffman attempt to resolve this problem? Secondly, participant observers only 'observe' and from their observations make deductions about people's motivations and feelings. A scowl means anger, a smile acceptance - or does it? Martin asked her respondents for their opinions; Goffman imputed the reactions of inmates to asylum life.

## TUTORIAL ONE

This tutorial will take up Martin's discussion of kinship networks, since it exemplifies the approach to the study of community suggested by section 2 of the course:

- It uses specific research methods to 'uncover' kinship networks in Adelaide.
- Its discussion of the meaning of these networks poses the question of how we, as outsiders, can know what type of relationship and commitment any social network involves.

In order to review your work from section 2 you should spend some time on the following:

1. The tutorial will provide an opportunity to discuss the problem of defining communities raised by the preliminary exercise and SAQ 9. Bring along your notes for both these pieces of work.
2. Think of ways social control operates within an organisation or community of which you are a member.
3. Think about a social network in which you are involved. What sort of evidence would you use to argue that a social network really exists?
4. How did Martin gather evidence on the feelings, values and beliefs of her respondents? Do you think her accounts of her respondents' 'worlds' are more, or less, accurate than Goffman's accounts? Why?
5. Why does the community matrix in the answer to SAQ 22 give us an 'empty box' - the dispersed non-consensual community?

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## 4.1 Total institutions: definitions and comparisons

Some of the essays in *Asylums* give us the patient view of the institution, some the staff view. The first essay begins by considering what type of institution the mental hospital is, and we can relate this discussion directly to our description of different types of community.

The first part of this essay (the introduction), describes the 'total institution', with its characteristic features, as a type.

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Read *Asylums*, pp.15-22, note the examples given on p.16, and answer the following questions.

**********

SAQ 24

According to Goffman,

1. what is the 'central feature' of total institutions?
2. what is the 'key fact of total institutions'?
3. why is the total institution not 'total' for the staff?
4. how will inmates' work in the institution differ from staff work?

Goffman's comparisons create a dilemma for us, since he gives two bases for defining total institutions: the total organisation of inmates' life by the institution, or the split (articulation) between a 'managed' and a 'managing' group. Among his examples of total institutions Goffman includes religious communities, abbeys, monasteries, convents and other cloisters. At first sight the category 'total institution' would appear to cover the examples of local consensual institutions we studied in section 2.2 (e.g. kibbutzim). From the viewpoint of this course this is unsatisfactory, since the problem of how a community achieves order has been a major question in the course, and lumping consensual and non-consensual communities together in the category of total institutions will direct attention away from this critical question of how consensus is arrived at.

Another line of argument which is superficially attractive is the suggestion that the basic difference between total institutions, on the one hand, and the

Hutterites and kibbutzim, on the other, is their modes of recruitment. Inmates of total institutions such as gaols and asylums are coerced into the institution, but 'believers' join consensual communities of their free will. It is an act of free choice. This distinction is not really useful however. Is the Hutterite who joins as a full member after years of preliminary socialisation acting differently from a person who agrees to be committed to a mental hospital after being persuaded that he or she is 'sick'? This sort of question indicates the limitations of this method of distinguishing total institutions from local consensual communities. Goffman's short discussion of this point (p.110) sees the mode of recruitment as contributing only to 'differences in tone' among total institutions.

On pp.17-18 Goffman does give the examples of housewives and farm families as people who live in a 'total' environment but not a total institution, since their activities are not 'collectively regimented' or 'batched'. Thus the Hutterites and the Kibbutzniks live in a total environment but not a total institution. Goffman claims that the distinguishing feature of a total institution is that the inmates eat, work and sleep together and to an externally imposed routine. Why is this a central feature? One part of the answer is because in order to achieve this batching, the inmates have to be made to conform. They have to take on a role of inmate which they share in many respects with the other inmates. Thus social control operates to produce conformity to this role. However, it should be asked 'Who does the social controlling?' 'Are the inmates of total institutions self-managed or controlled by others?' For most total institutions there is a caste-like division between managers and managed - hospital staff and patients, officers and soldiers, teachers and students. For some, however, as in the Clare Nunnery, this division is eliminated. Would these institutions be more like the kibbutz, or perhaps the Hutterites with their controlling elders? We can see something of an overlap between some of Thorns's communities (the least 'democratic') and some of Goffman's examples (voluntarily entered, no caste divisions). There is no clear-cut division between consensual and non-consensual examples of community, but rather a continuum from one type to another. This is because Goffman's criteria for defining a total institution (people 'batching') are not the same as our criteria for distinguishing the different community types.

We shall not be pursuing the finer points of argument which arise from this discussion. Our main reason for reading Goffman is to see how the local environment of a mental hospital exemplifies conditions of social control that produce a transformation of individuals' roles. Second, we will study the articulation or social cleavage this creates between the 'managed' and the 'managers'. We will move straight to this issue in the next section.

SAQ 25

Using the distinctions given in the study guide make a few notes on the following questions:

1. In what ways do cruise ships or holiday resorts resemble total institutions?

2. Why are they not total institutions?

## 4.2 Bureaucratic mechanisms of social control

According to Goffman, the key fact of the mental hospital is the management of a large number of people, the inmates, by a small number of people, the staff. In order for the institution to be efficient a large number of tasks - the bathing and clothing of patients, the administration of medications and so on - must be performed quickly and with a minimum of labour. In these respects a mental hospital is just like a factory. The staff are simply ordinary workers dealing with objects that have some particular characteristics. Goffman develops this point when introducing us to the 'staff world'.

**********

Read *Asylums*, pp.73-80. Pay special attention to Goffman's discussion of the 'paper shadow' which records the patient's (object's) progress through the institution (factory). This is the patient's 'case history'.

**********

SAQ 26

1. In 20-40 words, suggest how 'people work' is similar to technical work on any inanimate object.

2. Give one example of an institutional practice which flows from the need to treat persons as 'ends in themselves'.

3. List one or two examples of situations where 'humane' considerations conflict with the needs of institutional efficiency.

Through simple necessity the mental hospital must place people in different types of accommodation. However, this is not an arbitrary process. The operations of the 'ward' system are described in the next reading.

**********

Read *Asylums*, pp.137-139, and then do the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 27

Why do physical differences between wards come to symbolise the 'statuses' of different patients? (Just a couple of sentences.)

The staff make judgements about each patient in the process of assigning them to different wards. Even within a single ward they can be manipulated by other means. Goffman describes the 'privilege system' in the next excerpt.

**********

Read *Asylums*, pp.51-55, and then do the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 28

What is the 'rational intent' behind the dispensation of punishments and privileges in a privilege 'system'?

The staff can exercise control over patients because of the degree to which the institution regulates small and trivial behaviours. Actions which would normally pass unnoticed in other situations become the object of scrutiny and regulation. This point is worth noting since it makes total institutions different from other community settings and makes the level of social control much greater within the total institution.

**********

Read *Asylums*, from p.42 ('In civil society ...') to p.46, and then do the SAQ overleaf.

**********

SAQ 29

1. According to Goffman, what are the two main characteristics of an 'institutional regime'?

2. To what extent does a factory (or other work situation) embody these characteristics?

In this section we have read selected parts of *Asylums* to establish a sense of the practical problems which the staff face in 'processing' persons. At one level these are simple questions of organisational efficiency. At another level, however, they are bureaucratic, hierarchical and non-consensual forms of social control. Most of these passages describe the institution from the perspective of the 'staff world'. The major thesis of the book is, however, that the practical requirements of the institution are interpreted by staff, and consequently by patients, as moral imperatives. This is the issue we will explore now.

## 4.3 Role transformation - learning to be a 'good' patient

From the perspective of the inmates, the administrative decisions of the mental hospital are not neutral but contain a set of moral judgements which reflect upon their own behaviour. These judgements, Goffman argues, are adopted, reiterated and reinforced by the staff.

**********

Read *Asylums*, pp.80-88 (remember, you have already read pp.73-80), and then do the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 30

1. How, and why, does the staff view of the mental patient as 'sick' develop into an 'interpretative scheme' for labelling all his/her actions?

2. Why is this 'interpretative scheme' a moral one?

(NB: Think about the examples of non-moral interpretative schemes Goffman gives on p.83.)

Note how the staff see the patient as mentally ill - i.e., as in the 'sick role' - and interpret all the patient's

actions and requests in the light of this. Note further, that because this is a role which demonstrates weakness or even evil, the staff give it a moral interpretation; they judge and attempt to reform the patient. We would assume that patients resist this role-definition. But, to be sustained, a person's self-conception or role-definition needs to be reinforced by other people's acceptance and corroboration of it. The social environment of the mental hospital ensures that the official view of the patient is the one that circulates within the institution, and we see how the patient's case history is part of this process (cf. section 4.2).

**********

Read *Asylums*, pp.139-150, and then answer the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 31

List four or five ways in which the hospital view of the patient will be disseminated within the institution.

These two sections of Goffman's book reveal why the hospital staff take a moral view of their job, and suggest how this view of the patient is circulated and reinforced within the hospital, no matter what the patient's own view of his/her situation.

The material we have studied relates to the mechanisms of social control which operate within the community of the mental hospital. One aspect of your assessment item asks for a comparison of the mechanisms of social control which operate within consensual communities such as kibbutzim or the Adelaide suburbs studied by Martin. At this point it is a good exercise of revision for you to go back to your notes on the previous section (i.e., section 3) and make some notes on the similarities and differences between social controls operating in total institutions and those which Martin described in Northville.

As Goffman indicates (p.85), one of the most common beliefs in custodial institutions is the idea that new arrivals need to be 'initiated' into the institution in a particularly dramatic way. Goffman describes these procedures as the 'mortification of self'. This is also the process whereby they undergo a 'rite-of-passage' to their new role - inmate.

This is where Goffman's own theoretical position is most clearly evident. Goffman uses the analogy of dramaturgy to discuss how people act in different social settings. He

talks about the 'presentation of self' - the way in which we use props (clothing, possessions) and the stage (our home, office space, factory floor) to create certain impressions and perform certain roles. 'All the world's a stage' and we play our parts on it to the audience - our family, our friends, our workmates. We construct the role of 'happy spouse' and play it out on 'frontstage' (at dinner parties, with our kin) while 'backstage' we may fight, be very unhappy. Goffman's discussion of the stripping of the self on entry to the asylum is thus a discussion of the removal of 'props' of old roles and the substitution of new props - institutional uniform, the shaved head - which create the sameness and littleness of the inmate role.

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Read *Asylums*, pp.23-51.

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SAQ 32

Goffman gives examples of 'mortification of self' from several types of total institutions. Choose one (e.g. the mental hospital, or the nunnery) and list all the pages where that example is mentioned.

(This question is designed to help you think about the type of evidence Goffman is using, a question taken up in Tutorial Two.)

List the type of evidence Goffman used in each case (e.g. personal accounts, observations, responses to questionnaires).

The 'mortification of self' is part of a process whereby individuals move from a 'normal' set of roles in the outside community through to the role of inmate created by the 'ward' and 'privilege systems' within the mental hospital, then on to a new configuration of roles in the general community, which incorporate the episode of incarceration. These roles have different statuses attached to them. Tradesman or mother are higher status than mental patient. Ex-prisoner is better than inmate. In Course HP01b, *Traditions*, you considered the ways that distinctions between statuses are maintained and the way individuals identify themselves and others in terms of these social statuses.

Goffman looks at these statuses from the point of view of individuals and, in the sections you will read now, describes the way movements between statuses form a 'career'.

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The fact that total institutions involve a simple status and fixed identity for inmates at any one point of time, means that status changes and moments of status passage are extremely intense in this situation. In his essay 'The moral career of the mental patient' Goffman explores this experience. You have read parts of this essay; you should now read it as a whole. You should focus on the way status changes are constructed by the various actors in the social situation - the kin for instance - and the resistance of mental patients to those status changes and their attempts to hold on to old roles.

**********

Read *Asylums*, pp.117-155.

**********

SAQ 33

1. List one or two ways in which a 'prepatient' may feel 'betrayed' by those who urge him/her to enter the mental hospital. What perceptions or rationalisation would these other people have of their role in the process of committal?

2. What are some of the 'apologia' (i.e., self-serving stories) which patients construct?

The final section of this essay (bottom of p.150 through to the top of p.155) begins with a discussion of individual response to intensive and constant role changes. This question leads into a major, but particular, concern of Goffman; the nature of 'the self' and the development of self-identity. We will not explore these troubled waters here, but rather look at the possibility of two communities in the asylum - the staff world and the inmate world. Before doing that, complete the following review SAQ on Goffman's work and the definition of roles.

SAQ 34

1. Write out a short definition of social role.

2. Why is Goffman's dramaturgical approach suitable for discussing the redefinition of the mental patient in the 'sick role'. Give some examples.

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## 4.4 The staff world and the inmate world

It was Goffman's starting point that 'every institution ... provides a world' for its members (*Asylums*, p.10). Within the asylum the split between inmates and staff - what we have defined as the key fact of asylums (4.1) - means that the 'world' of each group is different and antagonistic.

> Each grouping tends to conceive of the other in terms of narrow hostile stereotypes, staff often seeing patients as bitter, secretive and untrustworthy, while inmates often see staff as condescending, highhanded and mean (*Asylums*, p.18).

The first essay of *Asylums*, 'On the characteristics of total institutions', is a description of each 'world' and then a discussion of attempts to overcome this split and create a sense of community ('Institutional ceremonies').

We have already read about the major experiences of the inmate world: the mortification process (4.3) and the reorganising influences of the privilege system (4.2). The other two aspects of the inmate world with which Goffman deals are the inmates' responses and the cultural milieu of the inmate world (*Asylums*, p.69).

When we are considering the culture (the 'world') of the inmates we can consider the way in which all their individual efforts at coping fit together. Sociologists are often concerned to see whether individual dissatisfaction with an oppressive situation will lead people to act, as a collective, to change that situation. Workers form unions to agitate for better conditions, as well as to make pay demands. Is there a possibility of such collective action emerging from the common plight of the inmates of St Elizabeth's?

Goffman does not address this possibility directly. Like many other studies he finds that the inmates, although they have many problems and complaints in common, have a culture which mitigates against collective action. This is similar to the response Martin found among the Northville residents (cf. section 3.3, discussion of SAQ 18).

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Read *Asylums*, pp.55-72, and then do the SAQ on the following page.

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SAQ 35

1. What is the fraternalisation process (pp.56-59)? Give an example which shows that group loyalty (or solidarity) is only an expectation of inmate culture and not an actuality.

2. List the four individualistic responses to the asylum outlined by Goffman (pp.61-63).

The inmate culture lacks a collective solidarity. Although there are informal codes (e.g. 'no welching', an insider's language, and a distinctive set of concerns), adaptations to the total institution are individualistic rather than collective.

By contrast, the culture of the staff appears to be collective. We have already read the material on the staff world (pp.73-80; section 4.2). Goffman is not explicit at this point, but the effectiveness with which the institution's view of inmates is maintained and the coherence of the staff's 'moralistic' view of 'human nature' suggest that the staff do have a collective consensus. We will consider this point further in section 4.6.

The final issue in this section is whether the division between staff and inmates is overcome by a common identification with the institution. Goffman examines certain institutional practices which might develop such a sense of collective unity.

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Read *Asylums*, pp.90-114.

**********

SAQ 36

1. List the examples of internal 'ceremonies' given by Goffman (you can find between three and six) on pp.90-95.

2. Why does Goffman suggest that institutional ceremonies are unsuccessful in creating social cohesion and community?

Goffman's description of institutional ceremonies brings us back to the main question of this course, the meaning and

conceptualisation of the term 'community'. Goffman mentions Durkheim's theories (p.102), which would hold that collective ceremonies and rituals are necessary to hold a society together by reinforcing its members' sense of a common identity. We saw how Nisbet developed similar ideas from Durkheim (section 2.3 and reading 2). This viewpoint is often labelled the 'functionalist' viewpoint since it suggests how practices, ceremonies or rituals, with no rational purpose are, so it is claimed, vital to the well-being of the community. You will come across references to functionalism in later courses. As you have seen, Goffman rejects this interpretation of institutional ceremonies and, in fact, turns it on its head by suggesting that life in the institution is a continuous drama staged to maintain the distinctions between staff and inmates. So are there two communities or one in the mental institution? To answer this question, you need to remember the definition of community this course uses. You may like to discuss your answers in Tutorial Two.

We will explore further consequences of Goffman's analysis in the next two sections. Before doing so, however, it is appropriate to sum up the main points this book has contributed to our understanding of community.

- Total institutions are communities with a distinctive and detailed regime which is imposed on all its members. This regime may reflect the values and beliefs (ideology) of the community, as in the case of monasteries or nunneries following the precepts of a particular 'Rule'. On the other hand, a regime can be imposed on the members of the community in the interests of technical efficiency, as occurs in the mental hospital.

- In most settings social control affects only selected aspects of people's lives. In the total institution 'the community' extends its control over every aspect of the inmates' lives. This produces fundamental changes in their identity and self-identity. They are socialised and re-socialised. They achieve, perhaps, a total role transformation from 'outside' to 'inside' life.

- The response of the inmates to the institution involves a process of adaptation to its demands and routines. They learn to 'work the system' and may even convince the staff that they are 'cured'. These are essentially individual adaptations and although there is a collective culture among the inmates it does not develop any common purpose or organisation.

This last point generates the most plausible comparisons between the total institution and the residents of Northville. The latter also acted as if they had little control over their own lives and did not develop the community involvement of the working class of Westville or

the connections and networks of the Eastville middle class. But the residents of Northville were not subjected to the moral reform of a total institution or its organisational demands. There are important points of contrast between these situations as well as points of similarity.

Goffman produces a picture of the mental hospital which gives unusual insights into the situation of individuals in relation to the workings of the institution. He does so on the basis of certain types of evidence which can be compared and contrasted with those used by Martin. This is a point of discussion in Tutorial Two.

## 4.5 Goffman's 'sociology of the self'

We have presented Goffman's discussion around the concept of role. The patient, who at some stage probably saw himself/herself as a 'normal member of society' (wife, breadwinner, son) perhaps gradually, perhaps suddenly, takes on the role of 'sick person'. He or she loses a certain amount of control over role performances and either willingly or not enters the asylum. Here role change is dramatic - the rite-of-passage or 'mortification of the self' is marked by stripping away the outside identity and imposing a new conformist one - the role of asylum inmate.

To what extent, however, do people have initiative in their roles? Not all mothers are alike, but some are so 'bad' that they come to be defined as 'not real mothers' (e.g. they 'neglect' or even abandon their offspring). Similarly, the inmates can choose to perform their role 'well' in the eyes of the staff, and so move up the ward system. They may withdraw into a minimal role performance. Goffman's approach belongs to a brand of sociology concerned with the construction of the self through role performance, as we mentioned above. In other books (e.g. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*), he discusses the extent to which people are innovative, successful or unsuccessful in their role performance. As such, he is dealing with a notion of identity. Are we just the sum of our roles, or is there some essential core of identity? Less globally, we can ask 'Is the mental patient's identity just his or her role of inmate?'

The question of individual identity and adjustment has been touched upon already when we dealt with Goffman's description of the inmate world (see section 4.4). A distinctive idea developed by Goffman is the concept of 'secondary adjustment' which he described briefly in *Asylums*, p.56. Secondary adjustment refers to the activities which serve the individual's needs rather than conforming with the goals of the institution. On p.56 he defines it in individualistic terms, although, as he shows, the practices of secondary adjustment contribute to collective ideas (the inmate culture) insofar as they are common practices. At a more material level secondary

adjustments contribute to the development of an underground system of exchanges and interaction, the 'underlife' of the institution.

The third essay in the book is a detailed description of this underlife. The first part of the next reading is an extended discussion of secondary adjustments; the second contains Goffman's short summation of his main theme.

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Read *Asylums*, pp.169-175 and pp.279-80.

**********

SAQ 37

In what ways do secondary adjustments have more important functions than merely serving practical needs which the institution does not meet?

Now that you have come to terms with the main ideas of Goffman's 'sociology of the self', you should be able to read his extensive and detailed description of the hospital underlife fairly quickly. You should just relax and treat it as an interesting description of an unusual situation and do not worry about the finer points of Goffman's analysis. Read only as much of it as interests you.

**********

Read *Asylums*, p.267-80, 'Conclusions', which to some extent summarises Part II. Then read as much of Part II as you feel like. Try dipping into it, reading the first paragraphs of each section or skim reading the section.

**********

In the concluding section of this essay Goffman generalises his view of the mental hospital to make some general comments about the nature of all social organisations and all individuals. Initially, he notes that 'whenever worlds are laid on, underlives develop' (p.267). In the final discussion, however, he argues that individuals always try to create some distance from the social group in which they are involved, so that secondary adjustments 'spring up in any kind of social organisation' (p.280). Thus, he moves from talking about the particular circumstances of the mental hospital to implying that those are attributes of each and every form of human association. Goffman is, therefore, asserting that all associations and groups must have some degree of organisational structure and discipline. The ideal of a totally consensual community is,

therefore, simply assumed to be impractical. On the other hand, Goffman is suggesting that all individuals will establish a self-identity by avoiding the constraints of such organisation: a 'sense of selfhood can arise through the little ways in which we resist the pull' into a wider social unit (p.280).

We do not need to conceptualise 'secondary adjustments' in terms of identity. We could as easily see them as another set of roles - to do with the way patients construct themselves to each other. By focussing on the notion of identity, Goffman is making a general statement about the universal psycho-social characteristics of human life. He is presenting an individualistic 'image of man' as social actor (which he also develops in many other writings) and which is usually seen as his distinctive contribution to the 'interactionist' perspective in sociology. Identity is a concept that belongs more to psychology than sociology. We can discuss most social actions without recourse to it.

## 4.6 The legitimation of the asylum

In the sections of *Asylums* we have read there has been some reference to the asylum's relations to the external world. There is the issue of which civil rights an inmate retains within the asylum (p.75) and there is the discussion of 'institutional display' (pp.95-102). In the final essay of the book Goffman seeks to locate connections between established beliefs about the psychiatric profession and the actual practices of moral reform he has described. This material touches on the wider question of how the institution maintains its legitimacy since, officially, it exists only to further the goals of the psychiatric profession in the name of wider community values.

The most important points in this discussion are contained in pp.324-336. Here Goffman describes some of the ways in which hospital staff, and psychiatrists, define mental illness in a way which then fits with the image of themselves as expert servicers (or 'fixers'). This is the image (or model) which Goffman has argued makes the institution legitimate in society.

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Read *Asylums*, pp.324-36, and then re-read pp.82-3.

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SAQ 38

Give two or three examples of how the mental patient's 'nature' is constructed within medical terminology in a way which simultaneously rationalises hospital practices based on the 'expert service' model.

Now you are able to see the import of Goffman's concern with the 'service model' you can read the earlier sections of this essay. Again, you should relax and read quickly without getting involved in the fine details of his argument.

**********

Read *Asylums*, pp.283-88, 321-24, 333-36.

**********

Goffman states that 'one of the central effects [of asylums] is to sustain the self-conception of the professional staff employed there' (p.335). This underlines our earlier suggestion that the 'staff world' has a certain coherence, collective perception of group self-interest which the 'inmate world' lacked. This imbalance is perpetuated by established beliefs and practices within society as a whole, the belief that 'those we exile to madhouses are receiving treatment, not punishment, under a doctor's care' (p.321).

In this section of the study guide we have examined Goffman's comments about the social legitimation of mental hospitals. Such institutions are part of a larger society, and in this sense they are not alternative communities like the Hutterite settlements or the kibbutzim. They seek to adjust the inmate to 'outside' life, not to socialise them into the values and beliefs of that institution.

SAQ 39

Re-read pp.23-24; why would 'cultural victory' be an inappropriate goal for asylums?

Goffman's book has continually questioned the medically based interpretative scheme of psychiatry and the mental hospital. He has done this by looking at the lowest levels of psychiatric nursing staff as well as the hospital administrators and private practitioners. All of them construct a view of mental illness which is compatible with

the needs of the institution and their own self-interest. Goffman sees himself as undertaking an analysis of the medical profession's ideology; i.e., he is looking at the social and material conditions which contribute to the formation and influence of this set of values and beliefs. This extends the usage of the term ideology beyond that which we have used up to this point in the course (cf. section 2.2 of this study guide, and the discussion of ideology in Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*, see section 3.3). You will develop this wider concept of ideology in Course HP04a, *Cultural Formations*. You will return to Goffman's discussion of the 'ideological construction of mental illness' in Course HP08a, *Classifications*.

## 5 COMMUNITY AND CONTROL: SUMMARY

This course has dealt with two key concepts - community and control. There are two 'shadow' concepts related to the issues of this course - individual and society - which we will examine in this conclusion.

Taking control first, mechanisms of social control vary from childhood socialisation to the intensive re-socialisation of adults studied by Goffman. Through reading *Asylums* and Martin's article we have a range of evidence about the experiences of people being subjected to different types of social control.

What use can we make of this evidence?

Having assimilated and understood the evidence presented by Goffman and Martin we can make use of it in ways appropriate to the particular aims of this course, relating it to the different idealisations and conceptions of community we examined in section 2.

- In the various situations examined by Martin and Goffman, people held different conceptions of community which are expressed through their values and beliefs. We can make statements about the similarities between the elaborated conceptions of community examined in section 2 and the values and beliefs which people use in their day-to-day life. For instance, we can relate the values and beliefs of Eastville residents to the liberal concept of community.

- We can take up a central question about the relationship between social control and community values. Do communities mould identities and values through social control, or can communities be formed on the basis of people choosing to associate with others who have compatible values (the cultural values approach)?

These two concerns are reviewed briefly in this conclusion.

### 5.1 The individual and society

Some sociological theorists tend to generalise about the nature of all groups, organisations or societies. They suggest that the constraints of social control make society like a prison, or perhaps a drama where we all conform to the rules which have been created for us. Many such theorists ignore the differences in the type and degree of social control operating in different situations and stress only the similarities. They therefore argue that social control is pervasive in all social situations and determines all our actions. Similarly, by focussing on control rather than regulation, they see all forms of social interaction as

coercive. We would suggest that driving on only one side of the road, for instance, is an example of regulation rather than control. It suits us better to obey the rule. Similarly, you will remember that Durkheim viewed social regulation in positive terms - it is the very stuff out of which individuals are made, socialised and civilised as members of society.

Tutorial Two asks you to consider the similarities between the experiences of a young mother in suburbia and the novice inmate of a total institution. However, you are also asked to discuss differences between the situations which should limit such over-generalised descriptions of social control. A reading with a similarly over-generalised notion of social control is Peter Berger's 'Man in society', reading 6. This is taken from a lively introductory sociology textbook, *Invitation to Sociology*. If you enjoy the Berger reading, you may well enjoy reading his whole book.

**********

Read Peter Berger, 'Man in society' (excerpts), reading 6.

**********

When reading Thorns's discussion of ideological communities, you may have felt that people in those little societies were totally brainwashed. Socialised carefully from childhood and deprived of much contact with the outside world, they seemed to readily accept their community's values because they 'didn't know any differently'. Berger suggests that modern Western society is not unsimilar. Here, too, we are trained in a set of values from childhood ('obey your parents', 'be good in school', 'work hard', 'get a good job', 'marry and have a family') with similar institutions of socialisation - family, school, gossip. We are not given very much access to alternative value systems, the chance to choose a different life-style. For example, schools do not systematically discuss the benefits of communism or fascism or parents present to their children the full range of companionship models. Our society is bigger than the kibbutz and so contains more competing lifestyles. But is it really substantially different in its attempts to create suitable social members?

Thus all societies use some mechanisms of social regulation. Consensual communities focus on socialisation, ostracism, gossip. Coercive communities are more prone to using physical violence, positive and negative sanctions (e.g. the privilege system). However, all societies have mechanisms for integrating social members. This does not necessarily mean that these mechanisms should be evaluated as bad - all societies need them to function at all.

This introduces the tension between individual and society, a key problem for sociology. You will remember

that Nisbet (reading 2) suggests that this is not an issue for liberalism, as espoused by political theory or political economy. Liberalism suggests that individuals are rational and free to the extent that they are not constrained by social control. Overstating the case somewhat, there is no concept of socialisation in liberalism. If there were, liberals would have to ask questions about how people come to be rational if they are first socialised, or why people should seek freedom from that society which gave them their values. Of course, some liberal thinkers do ask these questions - but they are quite uncomfortable about them. They tend to see all adult socialisation as manifestations of social control while childhood socialisation could be seen as necessary training in rational thought.

Berger describes almost the opposite of liberalism (or liberal-individualism which is quite similar). To Berger, there are no free individuals just social actors, performing their social roles almost mindlessly. Debate about the degree of social control is often presented as a question of determinism. It would be possible to develop general theories about society, arguing that our beliefs and values are not chosen or thought out but are the result of (i.e., are determined by) forces external to ourselves. We, as individuals, fit into structures that existed before us and are not changed by us. The material structures of society, its buildings, institutions and economic system are examples of such structures; systems of classification and meaning are examples of non-material, cultural structures. If we leave aside the question of the degree of influence of these determinants we can direct attention to another question: what is the nature of these structural determinants of individual action?

Most readings in this course have assumed that mechanisms of social control operate through interpersonal influence and/or conformity with a collective set of values and beliefs. If we see these values and beliefs as the result of a consensus, we could regard them as conventions or traditions. They could reflect the collective wisdom and experience of people who have gone through these situations before. In this view we would argue that structural determinants are 'social' and 'cultural'.

On the other hand, there are many writers who hold that such determinants are based on a variety of material conditions, economic conditions and the state of technology in particular. For instance, the structures of suburban networks which we have examined could be seen as a reflection of the material conditions of work and personal consumption in a modern, industrial consumer society. This is a position you will encounter in Course HP05b, *Work in Australia*. In another example, Course HP03b, *Authorship*, examines how technological developments relating to the production of books affected the social condition and recognition of authors, and authorship.

Berger's position is one of social or cultural determinism. The boy under the moonlight has no choice but to 'marry, marry, marry' because that is what he has learned from childhood that he must do. Of course, in real life he does have the choice. He has the choice not only to marry but to desert his family, remarry, stay single, indulge in extra-marital affairs and so on. Not all men do the same thing. Berger would reply because not all men (and women) are exposed to the same set of social values and norms. Society still makes us, but it is so rich and diverse that it makes each of us differently.

The cultural values approach stands somewhere between these two types in that it suggests that people undergo primary socialisation (e.g. by family and school) but, as adults, are free to choose the community they live in (the liberal position) and may also have the initiative to mould or change that community. The cultural values approach is sociology's version of liberalism. No sociologist refuses to accept the fact of socialisation, but some, e.g. those who espouse the 'cultural values' approach or Goffman with his 'Presentation of self', like to construct the individual as 'somewhat' free of social control.

Thus we have a major dichotomy in sociology between the individual and society, free choice and determinism, the individual free of social constraint and the individual created solely by society. We will discuss this issue in Tutorial Two. You can explore it further yourself by comparing the arguments put forward by Nisbet, Polanyi and Berger. It is obvious that neither extreme fully captures the diversity of our social institutions, communities, and methods of control and regulation.

Let us return now to a summary of the concepts of community developed in this course.

## 5.2 Three concepts of community

In section 2 we examined the liberal-individualist concept of community. This concept of community was appropriate to the loose-knit networks and self-regulating organisation of the international community of scientists (a dispersed consensual community). Nisbet's critique of this concept of community praised the virtues of small localised 'primary' groups and argued that they are necessary for the inculcation of basic human values. The local 'alternative' communities studied by Thorns (reading 1) exemplified this point through their control of childhood socialisation and education. We might have labelled them 'traditional' communities and developed a concept of community related to the maintenance of tradition. However, to emphasise the contrast with the imposed regimes examined in *Asylums* we used the concept of consensual community to describe the examples studied by Thorns.

The concept of consensus common to the community of scientists and the communities studied by Thorns would rest largely on the self-government and autonomy of each. The Hutterites and kibbutzim regulate their own affairs and make their own decisions about how to distribute the resources of the community, how to allocate tasks and which people to admit as members. In Polanyi's view these decisions should be the sole prerogative of the community of scientists as well. In these contexts, consensus implies not only agreement among a group but also internal control of decision-making and the self-regulation of the community's affairs. By contrast, the regime of a total institution is externally imposed and the institution has little or no democratic decision-making.

Those aspects of Polanyi's idealisation of community which stress the consensual, self-governing organisation of the community apply also to the communities studied by Thorns.

**********

Re-read Thorns, reading 1: skim through it with this point in mind, and then answer the following SAQ.

**********

SAQ 40

1. What are the procedures used by the Hutterites or the kibbutzim to make collective decisions?

2. Why would these procedures be inappropriate in the administrative structure of a mental hospital?

The examples given by Thorns also suggest that distinctive organisational structures and mechanisms of social control evolve even among the communities he studied. Women are excluded from the councils of the Hutterite settlements, for instance, but such exclusion would be totally at odds with the egalitarian values (ideology) of the kibbutzim. Government by consensus and community autonomy does not imply that all such communities will have the same set of values.

In the first section of this course we explored the variety of meanings associated with the word 'community'. We contrasted the liberal-individualist idealisation of community with the idealisation of community and primary group socialisation presented by Nisbet. We developed these contrasts further in a previous section of this conclusion (section 5.1). In order to relate these idealisations to

empirical examples, however, we developed a definition of communities as social networks, a definition which covered all the examples encountered in the course. This definition of community was broad enough to cover all the examples suggested by the different concepts of community *outlined* above.

- The physical circumstances of local communities, involving constant and repeated face-to-face interaction, make networks a natural feature of these communities. *Asylums* gave many detailed observations of the operation of such a social network.

- Dispersed communities have other forms of communication as the basis of their social network. Scientific journals and a network of professional connections were the basis of social interaction in the scientific community. Visits and participation in formal associations were the basis of dispersed ('non-local') networks in the Adelaide study.

The definition of community as social networks permits us to identify different communities and their basic shape and structure. A report of sociological research produces empirical information initially: who is in contact with whom, what sort of exchanges are made, etc. However, unless we ask appropriate questions, as Martin did, we do not know whether the participants in a social network appreciate and value their involvement in the network, and whether they modify and adjust their behaviour, values and beliefs, under the influence of others in the network. Judgements as to whether participation in these networks is necessary or useful can only be made on the basis of this additional information. They cannot be made on the basis of the definition.

By contrast, idealisations of community begin by stating the virtues of community, on the basis of personal values, intuitions, impressions, etc. They assume that communities provide for some sort of universal human need and then take up examples to prove their point. They express first the values of the writer and, perhaps, those of some larger group. Both Nisbet (reading 2) and Polanyi (reading 3) presented their arguments in this way. Often, empirical investigations and theoretical argument are seen as quite separate activities by such writers. On the other hand, the assumption of this course has been that these idealisations can be treated as refined 'cultural constructs' which are themselves objects of analysis and discussion.

An alternative concept of community can arise from the examples of total institutions studied by Goffman. Such a concept would be a dystopia (a negative picture of a future, or alternative society, such as George Orwell's *1984*). Such a dystopia suggests that a society can be run by an elite group who have a high degree of internal organisation and a view of the world (an ideology) which justifies their own

authority. This elite maintains its control by manipulating the situation of those they oppress so that any collective resistance is forestalled and individuals do not question the authority of the elite. Some elite theories suggest that such arbitrary power is still the basis of modern societies.

## 5.3 Social control in consensual and non-consensual communities

Goffman's observations of life in a mental hospital led him to suggest that the 'world' of the institution shapes the lives, the cultural 'worlds', and the values and beliefs (ideology) of individuals within them. By contrast, Martin's adoption of a 'cultural values' approach suggested that people's cultural values, expressed in their 'cultural constructs' of community and family lifestyle, guide their choice of how, and where, to live. The communities they create reflect and express these pre-existing values. Thus, for example, Australian suburbs like Eastville permit people with liberal-individualist values to choose a lifestyle and identity congruent with those values.

In spite of this contrast, both writers used the concept of social control, and through consideration of this concept Martin tended to move away from explanations of behaviour based on the cultural values approach. Moreover, in section 2 we noted how the alternative communities studied by Thorns, and the community of scientists, needed some socialisation of their members to 'manage the tension between individual desires and collective needs'. Does this mean that social control is pervasive within modern societies and, therefore, that we should take the asylum as our model of modern life?

We can use the examples of the total institution and of suburbia to address this question. We have studied the mechanisms of social control in detail in *Asylums* and we have evidence about social control in the networks of suburbia. There are certain points of similarity, such as those noted in sections 3.4 and 4.3, but there are certain differences. The suburban community does not have the split between 'managed' and 'managers' which was a 'key fact' of total institutions. The residents of suburbia are not directed and manipulated by local figures of authority as are the inmates of the asylum. Also, there is no externally imposed regime they need to follow. Although some mechanisms of social control operate, there is nothing equivalent to the ordered status passages of the mental patients' moral career.

Within suburbia informal mechanisms of social control can operate, but the degree to which they direct an individual's life can vary considerably. Martin drew attention to this through her final discussion of different types of social networks. Individuals within clustered or

loose-knit networks could not be influenced by others to the same extent as could members of a close-knit ('dense') community-type network. These differences suggest further features of social networks which modify mechanisms of social control.

The concepts of social control and community are often closely linked. The examples and contrasts we have developed in this course differentiate and diversify both these concepts. The assessment item for this course asks you to explore the varied uses of both these concepts encountered in the course.

## TUTORIAL TWO

This tutorial discusses Goffman's *Asylums* and some of the issues raised by the assessment item. On pages 34 and 83 of *Asylums*, Goffman cites George Orwell's autobiographical account of his days in an English boarding school. Excerpts from Orwell's account are reproduced as reading 7.

**********

Read George Orwell, 'Such, such were the joys' (excerpts), reading 7, and see if you can find other passages within it which could be cited to support other points or arguments in *Asylums*.

**********

The next section of the tutorial asks you to consider the excerpts from Janice Harper and Lyn Richards, (reading 8) which discusses the situation of a new mother in suburbia.

**********

Read Janice Harper and Lyn Richards, 'Who do they think they are?' (excerpts), reading 8, noting the similarities between the new mother in suburbia and the asylum inmate. What are some of the major differences in their respective positions?

**********

The next question deals with a comparison of Goffman and Martin.

- List the mechanisms of social control described by Martin and Goffman in the communities they study. Are they similar?

Now, returning to a question we asked earlier in the study guide:

- Is the mental asylum two communities or one?

A general statement of some of the issues to be canvassed in the examination is given in the excerpts from Berger (reading 6). You should read this again and think about the following questions before you come to the tutorial.

- Do the lives of people in Eastville, Westville and Northville exemplify the patterns of social control described by Berger in reading 6?

- In what ways is the cultural values approach, as used in this study guide, different from the approach in this reading?

- Go back to the reading by Nisbet (reading 2). Does his approach exemplify Berger's approach or a cultural values approach?

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## TUTORIAL THREE

(Mock Examination)

This tutorial will provide you with the opportunity to sit for a shortened version of the examination under examination conditions. When you come to the tutorial you will be given a short unseen examination paper consisting of sample questions from two of the sections in the examination. You will have a chance to complete this paper and discuss your answers with your tutor and the rest of the tutorial group.

This tutorial will probably be held in one of the usual examination rooms. The room number will be posted in the General Office.

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NISBET, R.A. (1966). *Tradition and Revolt. Historical and Sociological Essays.* New York: Random House.

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## FURTHER READING

It is not necessary to read more than the course text and specified readings. However, if you wish to read more widely, you could consult the full versions of books from which excerpts have been selected for this course. You may also wish to look at some of the following, all of which are available in Griffith University Library.


BRYSON, L. & THOMPSON, F. (1972). *An Australian Newtown: Life and Leadership in a Working Class Suburb.* Blackburn: Penguin.

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## ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

### Preliminary exercise: discussion

1. Local communities

You could name any small town here, e.g., Caboolture, Pittsworth, Innisfail. The following letter to the editor of the *Courier-Mail* is my favourite statement about the personality of local communities.

> Murgon image misplaced
>
> Murgon was a very peaceful place on Friday, December 24, 1982, Christmas Eve, and particularly in the evening.
>
> There hasn't been an opportunity to write this since Christmas Eve because of postal holidays.
>
> The sensational article on Page 3 of The Courier-Mail (December 23) under the heading, 'Murgon battle looms', is another story which Queenslanders will probably add to an already long list of surmised community behavioral minuses for Murgon.
>
> I speak with complete confidence when I say that the Murgon community, particularly the business community, saw this article as another dent in the shire's progress, but nothing more.
>
> Murgon wins 'Tidy Towns' contests, is impeccably fastidious about social behavior and aesthetics. It is a shire of very high standards.
>
> The image created by news items such as above is entirely in the minds of your readers.
>
> Communities have personality and pride and this community rejects without reservation the claim of Thursday, December 23, 1982 that 'the whole town could explode'.
>
> *Courier-Mail.*

The following clipping brings the idea of local community closer to home.

> Ask the people
>
> The Brisbane City Council should follow the Gold Coast's lead and distribute surveys with rate notices, according to the Opposition Leader, Alderman Olsen.

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He said the Gold Coast City Council decision to ask ratepayers their opinions on several key issues was excellent.

'There would be a lot of merit in a similar scheme for Brisbane,' he said.

'It would be an easy, inexpensive and valuable means of getting the people's views on the type of community in which they want to live.'

*Courier-Mail.*

You might also like to consider whether a 'school community' fits into the description of local community.

2. Groups which share some common identifying characteristic (e.g. occupation or nationality), such as:

(a) Ethnic groups in Australia; e.g. Italians, Greek.

(b) Professional groups; e.g. the legal community, the medical community, the business community.

Canberra - The Federal Government will spend $13 million over the next three years to extend multicultural television, Channel 0/28, to a further 10 Australian cities - including Brisbane - and country centres.

The decision to extend Channel 0/28 from its present base in Sydney and Melbourne came as part of a major package of welfare, education and legislative measures for the ethnic community flowing from an evaluation of the Galbally Report undertaken by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs.

*Courier-Mail.*

NB: This newspaper report uses the phrase 'the ethnic community', rather than 'ethnic communities'. This is probably not a mistake but a reflection of the dominant culture's perspective which regards 'ethnics' as an undifferentiated group. (This reporter has not done Course HP01b, *Traditions*!)

Here is an interesting piece where the idea of the 'arts community' (i.e., people interested in the arts) is mixed in with the idea of 'community arts'.

Notes by Director of Cultural Activities

The mention in my Director's Notes of February of the Crafts Council of N.S.W.'s 'A Community Art Slide Kit' has already sparked off interest from

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prospective borrowers. For one thing, there seems to be a renewed community interest in the design and production of murals. From my observations, it would seem that the more single-minded an arts community becomes, the easier it is to achieve success in the undertaking of such projects as are outlined in the kit. In Queensland, Brisbane itself is certainly not the pace-setter in this instance, and it may be left to more and more of our provincial centres by their example to reinforce the proposals described in the abovementioned publication. I will be interested to hear of developments during the year.

Later in the month at Bundaberg I was able to meet for discussions with a wide cross-section of the arts community. Profitable talks were also held with the Mayor and representatives of the city, as well as with T.A.F.E. personnel and members of service clubs.

*Queensland Cultural Diary.*

3. The public or the general electorate

Political speeches often contain appeals to 'the community'. Here are a couple of examples from a former Treasurer (John Howard) and a former Prime Minister (Malcolm Fraser).

In announcing a tough new proposal to recover millions of dollars lost to taxation revenue through stripping of company profits, the Treasurer, Mr Howard, has calculated that widespread community repugnance against tax avoidance and evasion will outweigh Liberal Party aversion to retrospective legislations.

*Australian Financial Review.*

Melbourne - Unions could be starting to realise that excessive wage demands were not in their interest, the Prime Minister, Mr Fraser said yesterday.

There were signs that unions were beginning to moderate wage demands as they realised that extravagent pay claims, supported by industrial action, were not in their or the community's interests.

*Courier-Mail.*

4. Community services

Here at Griffith University there is a Board of Community Services which supervises and manages university facilities open to all members of the 'university community'.

5. Community service

For Helping

The Lord Mayor, Alderman Harvey, yesterday presented the Lord Mayor's Australia Day Citizenship Awards to community-minded Brisbane residents.

The Brisbane City Council introduced the awards last year to encourage greater awareness of Australia Day and to recognise people who have contributed to the betterment of the community.

Award winners were:

Mr W.R. Johnson of Stafford, for his work with the Queensland Emergency Relief Organisation and for helping the Profoundly Handicapped Children Fund.

Mrs Dawn Didrickson of Brighton, for services to youth in the community.

Mrs Lorna Cook of Gumdale, for community welfare work.

Miss Ethel Martin of Windsor, for music and music teaching.

Mr Tony Christian of Thornside, for community youth work and for his work for the CYSS Centre at Wynnum.

Certificates, sports awards and junior citizens awards also were presented.

*Courier-Mail.*

SAQ 1 (p.11)

1. Rural communities are seen as traditionalist and self-contained when compared with cities.

2. The bush environment is believed to foster peace, harmony and moral virtue compared with the loneliness, lack of support and materialism of the city.

3. Rural communities are believed to have greater face-to-face interaction and more respect for customs and traditions.

SAQ 2 (p.13)

1. The history of the Hutterite Brethren:

   (a) founded by Jacob Hutter (hence the name)

   (b) 1565-1592 (i.e., the sixteenth century), the Brethren's early period in Moravia (now part of Czechoslovakia)

   (c) seventeenth century (i.e., 1600s) they split, but one group survived

   (d) late eighteenth century (about 1760) they moved to Russia

   (e) 1870, they were forced to migrate to America

   (f) since then they have survived and grown from the original 800 settlers to 17,800.

2. The social organisation:

   (a) Belief in self-help (self-sufficiency) means that their communities are physically isolated and self-contained.

   (b) The social organisation is based upon the maintenance of religous traditions; the Head Preacher is the supreme authority, who heads the Council.

   (c) The Farm Boss organises the practical aspects of communal life.

   (d) The Assembly (the adult, male, baptised members of the community) discusses and approves policy and elects position holders such as the Head Preacher and the Farm Boss.

   (e) Age and sex divide the members of the community into different subgroups: women have a limited role and children pass through a series of statuses

(i.e., socially recognised positions with associated identities).

3. Economic organisation and growth:

   (a) There is no private ownership of goods.

   (b) The produce of the communities is used to permit 'branching' (i.e., the founding of new communities).

Take one feature of 2 or 3 and suggest how it might contribute to the stability of the Hutterite community.

There are many possibilities here, for example:

(a) The use of communal surplus for collective goals prevents competition and envy among individuals.

(b) The Head Preacher can only maintain the religious tradition, not interpret it: this might lessen arguments about religious issues.

When you look at R1:3-4 you will see that Thorns's discussion does not include the first possibility. This shows that you can have additional ideas to the readings. The second possibility is developed with some additional information about these communities.

SAQ 3 (p.14)

1. (a) a set of shared values and beliefs

   (b) mechanisms for selecting members of the community (socialisation mechanisms)

   (c) a means of expelling non-conformists or disruptive members ('stirrers')

   (d) a form of social organisation whose structure expresses the values and beliefs of the community

   (e) an effective economic base.

2. The correspondence between the two discussions of these points is not crystal clear. However the first two points mentioned in R1:8-9 seem new:

   (a) the material and social equality of members and the communal provision of basic needs

   (b) belief in the moral superiority of the collective/ communal life of the kibbutz.

Your notes from these SAQs should now give you a list of conditions necessary for the survival of these communities.

SAQ 4 (p.14)

The social organisation of the Hutterites reflects the common commitment of members to the maintenance of their religious traditions; therefore the Head Preacher has a crucial role in the community.

By contrast, the kibbutzim organise themselves to fulfil their 'pioneering' goal. They give prominence to the managers rather than the religious leaders.

There are several other points of contrast like this one. The one which I found most intriguing was the different way women were treated within each community.

SAQ 5 (p.18)

1. (a) dislocation and depreciation of individuals and small groups

   (b) insecurity and alienation

   (c) traditional primary relationships are meaningless in the larger institutions of society

   (d) disorganisation of smaller, interpersonal relationships

   (e) lack of vehicles (e.g. religion) which sustain patterns of shared meanings and purposes

   (f) inability of the state to provide means to meet human needs for recognition, fellowship, security, membership and to nurture vigorous and creative personality.

   (NB: This is a full listing of the sort of 'human' problems with which Nisbet is concerned. You will probably have picked up only a few of them, because Nisbet is not very direct in stating his concerns. You might like to consider this question in terms of the concepts of 'tradition' and 'institution' you discussed in Course HP01b, *Traditions*, Tutorial Two.)

2. Nisbet is assuming that small-scale local communities are the major vehicles for maintenance of values and traditions and that they are being destroyed by the changes of the twentieth century.

3. Durkheim in his book *Division of Labour* believed that the interdependence created by modern industrialism would give rise to new types of communal feeling (which he called 'organic solidarity'). This would replace the traditions and collective support provided by older types of community (which, according to Durkheim, fostered 'mechanical' solidarity).

4. Planners cannot create community feeling by grouping people together. They must make provision for small groups of different kinds to flourish. This must be a spontaneous (i.e., grass-roots) phenomenon.

SAQ 6 (p.19)

1. (a) Man is governed by his individual reason alone.

   (b) Each individual is autonomous.

   (c) Communities are only a fetter on man's innate reason and instincts.

   (d) Social solidarity would arise from the mutual recognition of individual interest (cf. SAQ 5, no.3).

2. Liberal theorists were mistaken in believing that individuals developed these aspects of their personality outside social groups. According to Nisbet, they develop better through interaction than by individual activity.

SAQ 7 (p.21)

Like the consumer monitoring prices or the individual in the jigsaw team, the scientist is able to see the general patterns of change and then apply that to the particular 'pieces of the puzzle' or 'commodity' which he/she knows well.

If individuals have a specific task which is their own responsibility, it is suggested they will have a high incentive to finish it and 'prove themselves'.

SAQ 8 (p.21)

1. Scientific discipline provides a common basis of knowledge (through its training of scientists), a basis for the recognition of work of scientific value and means for judging the plausibility of new experiments. Original contributions (i.e., additions to the stack of scientific knowledge) can be quickly recognised and accepted by all scientists.

2. (a) interpretation of scientific opinion to the lay public

   (b) control of the training of scientists

   (c) appointments to universities and other institutions (e.g. the CSIRO)

(d) publication of articles in journals

(e) the acceptance of textbooks

(f) teaching of science in schools

(g) public opinion on scientific matters.

SAQ 9 (p.23)

You will have many different responses to this exercise, depending on the examples you used.

The example I know best is the professional association of sociologists. Even within one city we have little face-to-face interaction and the members of the profession keep in touch at a national level. There is a professional journal and a more informal newsletter. In addition there are annual conferences.

An interesting example which some of you might be able to talk about is Rotary International, a group which combines a commitment to community service with a commitment to fostering international links among its members (who are all members of the business community).

You might also like to think about examples of organisations which are founded to try to foster a sense of community in situations where one does not already exist, e.g. the United Nations.

SAQ 10 (p.24)

1. We can recognise the existence of a research area when there is a closely-knit clustering of scientific publications which cross-reference one another extensively.

2. Members of a social circle may not know one another personally but can be familiar with each other's work and know people who know the other person.

SAQ 11 (p 27)

1. The 'cultural values' approach argues that land use and patterns of settlement reflect the unique values of the people within the settlements. This means that the organisation of the community will be a reflection of the basic values and beliefs of its members; it will not be imposed by any external factors.

   It is helpful to understand some of the approaches which would be different from the one which Martin adopts. She only gives a few hints so I will spell out a couple of possible alternatives.

(a) Human ecology (e.g. Louis Wirth): this would assume that a set of external characteristics, the size and nature of the city, the density of settlement, the heterogeneity of the city, etc., would be the factors which determine the values the population adopts.

(b) 'Rational land use' theories: these theories might assume that the physical characteristics of the land and the nature of available technology mould the patterns of settlement and the values of the population.

(c) 'The fallacy of physical determinism' mentioned on p.3 of the article.

2. The concept of a social network permits us to study the 'group life' of people whether or not these people are concentrated in one locality.

Answers to SAQs 12-15 are given in section 3.2.

SAQ 16 (p.37)

Martin gives some quantitative evidence on neighbourhood (i.e., people living nearby) in the text of the article. This would come in response to questions like:

Have you visited, or been visited by, anyone living nearby in the last week?

How many such visits have there been?

There was no difference between the four samples in this evidence.

Martin also asked about contacts with next-door neighbours, the results are tabulated in Table 3. She must have asked respondents:

Have you ever visited Neighbour x?/Neighbour y?

Do you know the occupation of Neighbour x?/Neighbour y?

The evidence in this table suggests that the Eastville women were involved with next-door neighbours. In the text (R5:8-9) Martin suggests that this is not an indication that Eastville women were more 'neighbourly' in general, just a reflection that the Westville and Northville women were not as limited in their movements around the neighbourhood. (This is substantiated by the material from the next SAQ.)

SAQ 17 (p.38)

These comparisons are scattered throughout the text, for example:

(a) Northville and Westville working-class men disassociated themselves from their wives' neighbourhood contact (p.8).

(b) Eastville respondents kept out of each other's way more than other groups (pp.8-9).

(c) 'Neighbouring' in Westville and Northville was more public than in Eastville (p.8).

(d) Expectations of mutual help were lower in Eastville (pp.8-9).

(e) The type of help exchanged among Northville women was wider than that exchanged among Westville women (p.9).

SAQ 18 (p.39)

1. The Northville families in Martin's sample were more exposed to neighbourhood social control than were the other two groups. Martin details the social and physical factors which contributed to this.

   There were two types of sanctions used on neighbours in Northville - direct reprisals, and complaints to the Housing Authority or the police. Martin notes lack of respect for others which, in her judgement, motivates these particular actions.

2. Martin claims that her respondents in all the samples judged and evaluated the behaviour of their neighbours. She outlines the positive and negative 'models' which each sample held, 'models' which reflect the 'type of person' approved by each community.

   These kinds of judgements can form the basis for social control, if neighbours communicate them to one another, and thus influence one another to conform to the expected model of behaviour. Although Martin is not explicit on this point, we must assume that she believes this to have been happening.

SAQ 19 (p.40)

Your answer to this question can vary quite a lot depending on how you arrange and adapt the colloquial quotations sprinkled through Martin's account of the Northville community, or invent new ones (as I have done), for example:

(a) 'All those ladies so full of themselves with their posh accents. They never get anything done anyway.'

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(b) 'The people who go along don't want to achieve anything, they just want to go on a power-trip and make other people do the work.'

(c) 'The Housing Trust will look after the roads and staff: we don't need to waste good drinking time trying to agitate for it ourselves.'

SAQ 20 (p.40)

Martin lists a number of differences which arise from her observation about the different types of involvement in formal associations characteristic of the Eastville and Westville groups. The major difference appears to be that Eastville males join groups which are related to their (non-local) professional activities. Along with this went a positive commitment to personal development and 'home, family and work'. By contrast, the Westville men and women were involved in local associations (i.e., community associations rather than professional ones) and saw this as service to community done for non-materialistic ends.

SAQ 21 (p.43)

1. (a) The Eastville parents: they felt that the prevailing attitudes within this community suited their individual commitments to autonomy and the welfare of their nuclear families. In their view the community was organised and structured in a way compatible with their own identities.

   NB: You should read footnote 30 which greatly expands Martin's discussion of the values of the Eastville group.

   (b) Westville families (from both classes) who were involved in the local community and were not apprehensive about it changing due to the influx of industry and new people. Westville families who were apprehensive about such changes feared the breakdown of the community they desired.

   (c) Northville families who appreciated the housing the estate could provide for them, which they could not get in other ways.

2. (a) Some new arrivals to Westville had not yet established social networks.

   (b) Some residents of Westville preferred more anonymous and impersonal relationships.

   (c) Some residents, in Westville and in Northville, regarded their present residence as a resting place on the way to somewhere else.

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SAQ 22 (p.45)

| | Local | Dispersed |
|---|---|---|
| Consensual communities | Hutterites<br>Kibbutzim<br>Westville | The scientific community<br>Eastville |
| Non-consensual communities | Mental hospitals<br>Gaols<br>Northville | |

You will notice that this typology gives us an 'empty box': dispersed non-consensual communities. You may like to consider why this is so, and raise it at the first tutorial.

SAQ 23 (p.47)

1. (a) to 'learn about the social world of the hospital inmate, as this world is subjectively experienced by him'

   (b) to 'obtain ethnographic data regarding selected aspects of patient social life'

   (c) to 'describe the patients' situation faithfully'.

   Any of these statements taken from *Asylums* would be a suitable answer, or you could have framed a similar short statement of your own.

2. Goffman did some brief studies of ward behaviour in Bethesda, Maryland, then a year's field work in St Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington D.C. In the latter institution he passed himself off as an assistant to the athletic director, a position which allowed him to pass the day with the patients and not be too closely identified with the staff.

SAQ 24 (p.50)

1. The central feature of total institutions is the fact that every aspect of the inmates' lives falls under the control of the institution. It organises every aspect of his/her life through its timetable.

   NB: It is particularly useful to look at the slightly different examples of farm families and housewives which Goffman discusses at the bottom of p.17. Housewives are one example Tutorial Two discusses.

2. The 'key fact of total institutions' is that the inmates' lives are organised by a system of bureaucratic organisation. This organisation is enforced by the

staff of the institution so that there is a 'basic split' between the two groups within the community of the hospital; the 'managers' and the 'managed'.

3. The staff do not live in the institution as the inmates do. They have a separate life; they are involved in other social groups.

4. The staff of the hospital are working for a living. It is a legitimate job. The type of work provided for patients is not a job on which their living depends. There is little incentive to do it as it does not represent a 'contribution to society'.

SAQ 25 (p.52)

1. Cruise ships resemble total institutions in that individuals live with a group, isolated from the outside world, with the institution providing for all their needs.

2. They are not like total institutions because 'inmates' can choose which activities they will participate in. There is no 'course of treatment' prescribed for individuals. Staff are required to serve the 'inmates' and not to manage them. 'Inmates' retain all their civil rights and even acquire more by virtue of being 'paying customers'.

   NB: You will probably not have generated many answers to the second part of this SAQ since they derive from the understanding of total institutions gained by working through the later parts of this section. Keep this question in mind and come back to it later when you do have more ideas. You can probably have some fun with it in tutorials or self-help groups.

SAQ 26 (p.52)

1. 'People work' means work done on people (surgery, hairdressing, etc.). For the purposes of such work the person is just an object which may be more, or less, easy to handle than another object (i.e., a different person).

2. Prison officials who prevent a condemned prisoner taking his own life.

3. Goffman gives several examples, such as:

   (a) Although patients should be allowed to dress themselves they may need to be hurried up to meet the demands of the institution's timetable.

   (b) Since there is limited space in the institution patients cannot have many personal belongings.

(c) Heads are best shaven for the elimination of lice.

SAQ 27 (p.53)

The physical conditions of the ward reflect the level of responsibility and autonomy which the institution judges appropriate for the individual. The individual's 'status as a person' is reflected in the physical circumstances of his/her 'ward'.

SAQ 28 (p.53)

The privilege system has the effect of providing the incentives and punishments which motivate the inmates to move through the various 'stages' or 'statuses' which the institution believes appropriate for their passage through the institution. It is 'rational' only from the point of view of the institution, although the quotation on p.54 suggests that it might also be seen as 'rational' from the point of view of the ward attendant who has to maintain his/her immediate authority over the inmates.

SAQ 29 (p.54)

1. There are many exacting rules governing every aspect of the inmates' actions (how beds are to be made, clothes folded, etc.). These are often geared to a high level of regimentation.

   The second aspect is the notion of echelon authority. Any of the staff will discipline any patient; authority is impersonal and ever-present.

2. A factory, particularly one with an assembly line may have quite detailed rules governing the way workers should act (when they can go to the toilet, have a smoke, etc.).

   As Goffman suggests, however, authority over any group of workers is usually assigned to a specific individual (e.g. the foreman).

   It may be that there are work situations which embody both characteristics of an institutional regime. The army is an example Goffman often cites. If you know of others bring them up in tutorials or your discussion groups.

SAQ 30 (p.54)

1. Once the staff believe that an inmate is 'sick' they interpret all his/her behaviour in terms of the institution's medical frame of reference (or the

particular frame of reference prevailing within other total institutions, e.g. boarding schools). Crude interpretations of this frame of reference may be elaborated as a simplistic theory of human nature (pp.84-86).

The reasons for this occurring are suggested on p.84:

(a) to rationalise the institution's activity

(b) to allow staff to distance themselves from the patients

(c) to justify their course of treatment.

2. The aim of the institution is to make patients direct themselves in new, socially acceptable ways. The 'cure' involves a change in their conceptions of morality and propriety. They cannot be cured by some external treatment (e.g. drugs) although these may aid the process of a cure.

NB: On p.139 Goffman notes the paradox of this view which becomes stronger the more a hospital 'attempts to be therapeutic and not merely custodial'.

SAQ 31 (p.55)

1. The patient is expected to take the 'staff view' of him/herself at psychiatric or psychotherapy sessions (both private and group sessions).

2. Inmates gossip about one another.

3. The staff discredit patients to other staff and other patients.

4. The case history documents the institutional view of the patient.

5. Staff meetings allow staff to share stories and the institutional assessment of patients.

NB: You might also have noted how the patient's next-of-kin fail to support the patient's self-conception, as they are won over to the psychiatric view of the patient.

SAQ 32 (p.56)

This is a simple exercise so there is no need to give you the answers. The example which is used in Tutorial Two is Orwell's account of his boarding school, to which Goffman refers on

p.34 - Orwell's retrospective account of the physical conditions in the school

p.47 - footnote 77 mentions the same account

p.83 - a report of the 'interpretative scheme' of the boarding school.

This example is mentioned only once in explicit terms. I chose it because I was interested in Orwell. I hope you find a better one.

SAQ 33 (p.57)

1. (a) The next-of-kin sets up the interview. The patient goes along as an equal but finds the psychiatrist and the next-of-kin ganging up on him/her.

   (b) The staff in the ward persuade the inmate that he/she is entering the institution for his/her own good but when they get in, they are just absorbed by the institutional routine.

   (c) The psychiatrist 'betrays' the patient since seemingly reasonable requests made to facilitate his/her treatment make him/her end up inside a mental institution.

2. Goffman gives specific examples on p.141. You have already seen how these flimsy constructs for self-protection are eliminated.

SAQ 34 (p.57)

1. This definition is taken from a dictionary of sociology: 'A social role is the expected behaviour associated with a social position... Role is a relational term. One plays a role vis-a-vis another person's role which is attached to a counter position, e.g. the doctor plays his [*sic*] role as doctor in relation to the patient's role.'

2. The dramaturgical approach uses the model of people as actors playing out social roles. It therefore allows for these roles to be changed (they are not essential to being human) as the stage changes and the actors we play the role with change. Thus the mental patient comes to be defined as sick by relatives and friends. Mental hospital staff confirm this definition and strip away the props of normal life - clothing, make-up, even hair - to reconstruct the patient in the sick role. The patient's behaviour - aggression, non-compliance, withdrawal - is then all interpreted as evidence of the patient's sickness. The staff of the institution play a counter-role, of psychiatrist, warder, etc. which treats the patient as sick - needing expert attention, restraint and so on. The stage, the mental asylum, confirms that the patient must be sick to be there.

SAQ 35 (p.59)

1. The fraternalisation process designates the way in which all the patients recognise their common predicament. Through activities such as collective teasing of the staff some kinds of bonds are formed among the inmates. These links lead also to common 'lingo' and recognition by inmates of the 'rights' of other inmates to be involved in institutionally forbidden 'secondary adjustments'.

2. (a) Situational withdrawal p.61

   (b) Intransigence p.62

   (c) Colonisation p.62

   (d) Conversion p.63

SAQ 36 (p.59)

1. (a) The publication, by inmates, of a weekly newspaper or monthly magazine, the 'house organ'

   (b) Meetings of inmates and (sympathetic) staff which air inmate grievances ('gripes')

   (c) An 'annual' party

   (d) Christmas celebrations

   (e) A play or theatrical production

   (f) Open house

   (g) Visits to the institutions by important (official) 'outsiders'.

2. Because of the rarity of these events, and their strained and artificial atmosphere, Goffman maintains that these occasions do not create a sense of collective bonds between staff and inmates. On the contrary, they provide occasions where the underlying division is seen to be maintained although the overt symbols of authority are absent. You can relate this back to the discussion of ritual in Course HP01b, *Traditions*.

SAQ 37 (p.62)

According to Goffman, 'secondary adjustments' serve to give individuals a sense of self. By not conforming entirely to the spirit of the institution's regulations, the individual creates and reinforces his/her sense of individuality.

SAQ 38 (p.64)

1. The naming of patient activities as a medical 'condition' provides many examples for Goffman: non-communicative patients are regarded as 'mute'; unco-operative patients as 'aggressive'; distrusting ones as 'paranoid', etc.

2. Patients are regarded as not being in control of themselves and hence psychiatrists have a justification for making decisions on their behalf.

3. The danger of 'mistakes' affecting a patient's recovery justify the psychiatrist's authority over lower staff.

4. There are a range of practices which have medical justification but which suit the routines of the hospital, e.g. drugging all patients in the evening, or administering a 'treatment for biting' to 'biters'.

SAQ 39 (p.64)

'Cultural victory' would mean that the inmate had become totally habituated to the life of the institution. They would be unable to go back to a normal life and thus the reason for the institution (its ability to 'cure' mental illness) would be vitiated.

SAQ 40 (p.70)

1. (a) The Hutterite community makes decisions through its assembly (all male baptised members) which discusses and approves policies formulated by the Council of Elders, itself elected by the Assembly.

   (b) The kibbutzim make decisions through the 'kibbutz meeting' which includes all full members of the kibbutz. This also elects the members of the secretariat and any committees.

2. In both of these situations the ultimate authority over the community lies in the hands of its members. Election of community leaders is appropriate for this situation. Since a mental hospital is a custodial institution (i.e., caring for its inmates on behalf of society), these practices would be inappropriate. They would, for instance, break down the authority relationships on which a mental hospital depends.

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